THE

CHRISTIAN REFORMER.

No. CXLI.] SEPTEMBER, 1856. [Vol. XII.

SOME ACCOUNT OF PETER BARO, A PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY, PERSECUTED FOR HERESY AT CAMBRIDGE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Peter Baro was one of the numerous exiles who fled from France, terrified by the horrible events in Paris of St. Bartholomew's-day, 1572. He was born in 1534, at Estampes, in France, and studied in the University of Bourges, where he was admitted a licentiate in the law. Abandoning the profession of the law in 1560, when twenty-six years of age, he betook himself to Geneva and devoted himself to the study of theology. He was admitted to the ministry, receiving ordination at the hands of Calvin himself. There was some resemblance in the early career of Calvin and Baro. Both studied in the first instance the law; both afterwards devoted themselves to theology, siding with the Protestant party and with the sterner section of the Reformers. There was afterwards a marked divergence in the theological course of the younger divine from the dogmas of the master at whose hands he received ordination. Where Baro followed the ministry during the early years of his public life is not recorded. Probably he returned to France, and there abode until the persecution of the Hugonot party broke out. He then resolved to quit his country rather than forsake his religion, and fled to England. Here he had the good fortune to secure some powerful friends. One of these was Dr. Andrew Perne, Dean of Ely and Master of Peter-house, who, though pronounced by Anthony Wood "an unstable man in religion," and, according to Fox the Martyrologist, stained with some of the crimes of the Marian persecution, was always a patron of learning, and often a protector of learned men. He was one of those whom honest John Bradford, in his Farewell to Cambridge, penned after his condemnation to death, exhorted to "repent," rebuking him, in common with others, for being ashamed of that which he knew to be Christ's truth. In scornful reference to Perne's religious versatility, which enabled him to remain Master of Peter-house, as the same qualification enabled Simon Aleyn to retain the vicarage of Bray, equally under Popish and Protestant rule, the wits of the University (Fuller tells the story) coined a word which will be sought for in vain in Ainsworth, Smith or Riddle—"Perno, I turn or change often." Fuller, however, candidly adds, that if Perne had not the self-denial to suffer for

his own conscience, he was too kindhearted to let other men suffer for theirs, and that it was his "deserved praise that he quenched the fire of persecution (or rather suffered it not to be kindled) in Cambridge, saving many from the stake by his moderation." He shielded Whitgift during the perilous visitation of the University of Cambridge by the commissioners appointed under Cardinal Pole's authority. He was one of King Edward's six preachers, and was engaged in the Bishops' Bible, having for his share in this great work the books of Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon.

Another and more powerful patron of Baro was Lord Burleigh, the clear-headed and upright statesman whose counsels guided the government of England through one of its most difficult and not least glorious periods. Burleigh, like Perne, had been at least a conformist to Popery during Mary's reign; but there can be no doubt that in his heart he was always a Protestant and disliked religious persecution, although, as the friend of Queen Mary and the servant of the imperious Elizabeth, he did some things which throw a shade of doubt over his sincerity.*

It is supposed that Baro fled to England in 1572 or 1573, and that he found an immediate asylum in the University of Cambridge. The prevalent tone of religion in the University at this time was severely Calvinistic, and Baro would be received with enthusiasm, both as one of the victims of Papal persecution and as a personal disciple of the now deceased Calvin. It was necessary to provide for him the means of living. This was secured by his election, in 1575, as the "Lady Margaret's Reader in Divinity." This, the most ancient, Professorship in the University had been established in one of the first years of the century by the Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond. It is now, by additions made in the reign of James I., the best endowed Professorship in the University, but its original endowment was only twenty marks per annum, chargeable upon the revenues of the abbey of Westminster. It had been held by men of high reputation, such as Matthew Hutton, Whitgift, and latterly by Cartwright. In 1566, the stipend had been increased, during the Professorship of Whitgift, to twenty pounds per annum.

* It has been the fashion amongst Protestant writers to claim for Burleigh a greater amount of religious consistency than can be truly vindicated for him. Thus in the excellent Life of him in the "Cabinet Cyclopædia," he is represented as declining office under Mary on account of his firm and conscientious attachment to the Reformed religion. It has, however, been subsequently proved by Tytler ("England under the Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary," Vol. II. p. 443), that during Mary's reign he conformed to the established faith. He retained, though a layman, the benefices of Wimbledon, Stamford, &c.; he confessed; he attended mass with the Lady Mildred, his wife; and he brought up his son, Thomas Cecil, afterwards Earl of Exeter, in the profession of the Roman Catholic faith. These facts, resting on the evidence of original documents, printed by Tytler, remove all difficulty about the share of Burleigh in bringing Cardinal Pole into England.

Baro's immediate predecessor was Dr. John Still, afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells, and successively Master of St. John's and Trinity College. To the latter College, according to Anthony Wood, Baro had attached himself. He received from the University, in 1576, the degree of Doctor in Divinity, and was in that year incorporated in the same degree in the University of Oxford, on the very day (July 11) that Walter Travers (Hooker's colleague and theological opponent at the Temple church) was incorporated M.A. in that University.

An early letter from Baro to Lord Burleigh is preserved in the British Museum, of which, together with some other documents illustrative of Baro's case, we offer a translation.*

"To that most wise and illustrious man, the Lord Burleigh, High Treasurer of this kingdom, and the most honoured Chancellor of the University of Cambridge.

"Since, by the influence and votes of the Heads of this University, men most friendly to me, I have here acquired the rights of citizenship in Sparta,† I spare no pains to do credit to my post, and have now been labouring and striving for six entire years. Because, most excellent Lord, I daily do my best to promote the usefulness and honour of this University, and because with such exceeding politeness you on a former occasion condescended to receive me even at your table, I, relying on this your goodness, have presumed to address this very short letter to you, trusting that it will not offend your Lordship; in which, after paying my most dutiful respects to you, I am desirous of refreshing your memory respecting my condition here. For you have already heard from Dr. Perne what and how slight my means here are: you have also said that you would bear this in your recollection, and take care of my interests. Because I rely on this promise, I have thought that it would not be displeasing to you to have it recalled to your memory, that if by chance any opportunity of helping me shall offer itself, your goodwill towards me will not permit it to pass by. As to what will suit me, that your own knowledge will suggest, or you will better learn from Dr. Perne than from myself. Committing myself then entirely to your fidelity and his knowledge, I pray and beseech the great and good God to keep you, most illustrious Lord, long in health, for the advantage of this Kingdom, Church and University, and that he may constantly shower down upon you his blessings!

"Your most obedient servant,

"Cambridge, Nov. 21, 1580." P. Baro."

* We are indebted for these documents to two highly curious and interesting volumes, published in 1854, by Mr. James Heywood, M.P., and Mr. Thomas Wright, entitled, "Cambridge University Transactions during the Puritan Controversies of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." To his other public services in behalf of academical reform and religious liberty, Mr. Heywood has added the publication of various works bearing on these questions, of which the volumes now before us are not the least valuable.

† The original is "Spartam nactus sum." Baro, with true classical taste, here makes use of a proverbial saying, adopted by the Romans from the Greeks, and applied to persons admitted to nominal privileges and the opportunity of distinguishing themselves. Poor Baro found to the last but *Spartan* fare at Cambridge.

From the position of Dr. Perne in the University, and his opposition to Puritanism, and the moderation of Lord Burleigh, it is probable that Baro's sympathies in respect both to doctrine and discipline were not, when he was received at Cambridge, of the school of Geneva. His appointment to the Professorship from which not many years before Cartwright had been expelled for his Puritanism, indicates that Baro had already cast in his lot with the more moderate party of the English Church. His lectures during the early years of his Professorship were, according to Anthony Wood, "to the great liking of many." The theology in greatest favour at Cambridge was sternly Calvinistic. Predestination was received and taught by Whitaker, Tindal, Some, and other leading men, as orthodox doctrine. It argued no small amount of courage in Baro openly to controvert this doctrine. This, however, he did very soon after his appointment to the Professor's chair. When lecturing on the words of Jonah, *Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown,* he maintained that the judgment thus denounced was not to be looked on as if the prophet had proclaimed an absolute decree from Heaven; the language was used to rouse the people of Nineveh to repentance. Notwithstanding the positive and judicial tone of the sentence, there was certainly a condition implied. The threat must be thus interpreted—if the Ninevites did not repent, they would certainly be overthrown. The event proves that the text is to be thus understood. From this text the Professor proceeded to discuss the question of election to eternal life, opposing the Zuinglian doctrine of absolute decrees. The publication of his lectures on Jonah, together with certain theological theses maintaining the doctrine of free-will and on justification by faith, drew down upon Baro the hostile criticisms of the Calvinistic party. They found a champion in Lawrence Chadderton, afterwards Master of Emanuel College, the chief nursery of Puritan divines. Chadderton denounced Baro's errors publicly in the pulpit. Baro resented this as an irregular and indecorous proceeding, and summoned his opponent into the presence of the Consistory. The members of this court named in connection with this proceeding are, Dr. Perne, Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Hawford, Dr. Harvey and Dr. Legge, all of whom were of the anti-Puritan party. Chadderton denied that he had preached against Baro, but denounced certain opinions on the subject of justification by faith. A controversy in Latin ensued, and it was understood at the time that the two combatants finally came somewhat nearer in their views—a rare result of religious controversy! The controversial papers that passed between them were not published, but were preserved in the University library. Fuller says on this controversy, "However they might seem in terms to approach, their judgments were so far asunder, that it set their affections at the same distance, so that no com-

pliance betwixt them ensued." The flame was only smothered; it was destined to break out more violently some years after. Arminian doctrines gaining ground in the University, the celebrated Lambeth Articles were drawn up by Archbishop Whitgift and the Bishops of London and Bangor; assisted by Tindal and Whitaker, who had been specially deputed by the Calvinist party of Cambridge to confer with the Primate on the growth of Pelagian errors. These articles are nine in number, and assert, in the baldest language ever used by theological dogmatism, the Calvinistic doctrines of election and reprobation, of predestination, of the perseverance of saints, of prevenient grace, &c. These nine articles were sent down to Cambridge, designed to rebuke and repress Baro and others of the Arminian party, and orders were given that they should not be publicly impugned. But there were other authorities in Church and State to whom these articles, and the mode in which they had been prepared and promulgated, were distasteful. When Lord Burleigh received the articles from Dr. Whitaker, he immediately perceived how open they were to objection, and propounded the objection which hits the blot in the Calvinistic theology. He objected (anticipating in this Dr. Channing's noted "moral argument against Calvinism") that the articles charged God with cruelty, and might cause men to be desperate in their wickedness. He argued the matter by shewing what would be thought of an earthly prince who should act on the principles ascribed to God in the Lambeth articles. Strype, in recording this remarkable discussion, in which the statesman shines in contrast with the theologian, says of Whitaker, "That learned man thought fit to say but little, *considering that Lord's present weakness by reason of want of health.*" Some may perhaps suspect that the Professor's silence sprung quite as much from deference to the rank and station of the Lord Treasurer, and from the conscious difficulty of his own theological position, as from consideration for the health of that Lord. Supposing he had been discussing the subject with some student of the University, or poor Arminian curate broken down in health, would he have practised the polite reserve which he manifested in the presence of the great Lord Burleigh? We think not.

The Queen also had her opinion on these Lambeth articles. She liked not the discussion of such mysterious subjects, and she warmly resented the intrusion on her prerogative in the meeting of an ecclesiastical assembly, and their proceeding to frame articles of faith without first applying for and receiving special authority from the Head of the Church. The peccant Churchman (Whitgift) was summoned into the Royal presence, and we may well conceive how fluttered were the lawn sleeves, and how scared was their wearer, when he was greeted by a Royal sarcasm at his love of wealth, and bluntly told that he

had exposed himself to the penalties of a premunire by calling a council without the Queen's consent. The Archbishop could only deprecate the anger of his Sovereign by pleading that the Lambeth articles did not profess to be a symbol of faith binding on the Church, but were only designed to appease certain unhappy disputes in the University of Cambridge.

From a private letter,* written by one Andrew Bing, who was at that time with Whitgift at Lambeth, it would appear that this proceeding of the Queen's was suggested to her by Lord Burleigh, "who did much stomach my Lord of Canterbury his greatness and power in Cambridge." The sequel is best told in Bing's words. After the Archbishop had been shrewdly "shent and rebuked" by the Queen, "he sent post to Cambridge to fetch back that copy of articles which was a little before (even a very few days) recommended by him unto every Head of a College, with special direction not to press the embracing them upon any of their societies, whereunto they were formerly enjoined by him."

But the fire was kindled at Cambridge, and it was beyond the power of those who had lighted the match at once to extinguish the blaze. Baro, either provoked by the design of the Lambeth articles to put him down, or influenced by a desire of pleasing his patron, the Lord High Treasurer, on the 12th of January, 1596, preached before the University, at St. Mary's church, a sermon from James i. 27, in which he impugned the leading articles of the Calvinistic creed, and asserted the great doctrine of the gospel, that all men may, if they will, be saved. Dr. Goad, the Vice-Chancellor, consulted Dr. Clayton and Mr. Chadderton, and afterwards the Archbishop of Canterbury, as to the course to be adopted. The Archbishop entertained a resentful feeling towards Baro on account of the rebuke he had received from the Queen, believing as he did, and as he expressed to Bing at the time, that the whole business had originated through him. Baro had vainly sought to make his peace with the Primate by concession and explanation. In a letter addressed to Whitgift, he dutifully and respectfully expressed his regret at having been the occasion of bringing some cause of trouble to him. He explains that his doctrine is simply that God is not the author of sin. His will is that sin should not be committed; he openly forbids it, and reproves men for nothing but on account of sin, which he hateth. Baro also explains his doctrine with regard to perseverance to be simply, that the faithful, or the elect, ought not to be secure of their salvation. Strype seems disposed to represent Whitgift's treatment of Baro as mild and forgiving. Of this we do not see the evidence. Dr. Hutton, the Archbishop

* This letter is quoted in Ayre's Life of Whitgift, prefixed to the edition of the Prelate's Works recently published by the Parker Society, Vol. III. p. xvii.

of York, writing to Whitgift, says he little likes Baro and his learning, and wishes "he were in his own country, and not able to disturb the peace of the Church," and that one were put in his place, "learned, godly and mild of nature." Better words could scarcely be chosen to represent good Peter Baro. But, in the eyes of an Archbishop, a clergyman could scarcely appear mild of nature who preferred the authority of the Lord Jesus Christ to that of Lords Spiritual.

Before Lord Burleigh spoke and wrote in behalf of Baro, Whitgift shewed little disposition to spare him. By the Archbishop's directions, Baro was cited before the Consistory. On three several days, Jan. 17, 21 and 29, he appeared before them, and articles founded on his sermon of the 12th instant were exhibited against him, and evidence in their support received from various members of the University. The Vice-Chancellor demanded a copy of the sermon. The lawyers of Baro advised him not to give it. At the last sitting, the Vice-Chancellor ordered him to give in writing the entire substance of the sermon. This Baro did the following day. It would not be easy, we think, to draw up a scheme for a better or a more scriptural sermon. We translate it from Mr. Heywood's volume.

"*Certain Declarations of Mr. Baro in a Sermon addressed to the Clergy, Jan. 12th.*

"1. He taught that God created all men and every man with an absolute wish for their eternal life. The proof: He has created all in his image, therefore for happiness, and hence has rejected no one from salvation, except on account of prevailing sin.

"2. That the will of God is twofold, viz. antecedent and consequent. That by antecedent will God has rejected no man, otherwise he would condemn his own work. In illustration of this, he applied the image of, 1, a king; 2, a father; 3, a husbandman. A king enacts laws for the good of his subjects. A father does not beget a son for the gallows, or that he may disinherit him. The husbandman does not plant a tree that he may root it up.

"3. That Christ died for all and each, that all and each may know that they have a remedy in Christ, according to that scripture, *Christ came to save that which was lost.* For all and each were lost in Adam, therefore, &c. For the remedy and the disease have the same extent, and God is not a respecter of persons.

"4. That the promises of God in respect to life are universal, and regard equally Cain and Abel, Esau and Jacob, Judas and Peter; and that Cain was not more rejected by God than Abel before he had shut himself out. That men are shut out of heaven by themselves, not by God, according to that saying, *Oh, Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself!*

"This having been collated, I testify that the copy agrees with the original.

THOMAS SMITH, Public Notary.

Signed, JO. ALLENSON, JAMES CROUTHER,
WILLIAM NELSON, JOHN HOOKE,
ABDIAS ASHTON, GEORGE DOWNHAM."

The Vice-Chancellor at length (Jan. 29) informs Lord Burleigh, the Chancellor, of the proceedings against Baro. The letter is given in English in Mr. Heywood's volumes (II. 89—91), but all that is material in it has been already stated. The accused Professor now feels it necessary to give his patron his explanation of all that had passed. And we give a translation of the letter, the original of which, extracted from the Lansdowne MSS. (No. 80, Art. 69), is given by Mr. Heywood.

"*To that most wise and illustrious man, Lord William Cecil, High Treasurer of this Kingdom.*

"I hear, most illustrious Lord, not without great pain of mind, that Doctor Goad, the Vice-Chancellor of this your University, has brought a complaint against me before your Lordship. I do not indeed sufficiently understand what it is that he especially complains of in respect to me, and this is the reason why I take the liberty to write this letter to your Lordship, in order that I may clearly and ingenuously explain the circumstances which have led him to seize this occasion against me. If I have committed any fault in this matter, I will not refuse to submit to your judgment or your censure. Well then, on the 12th day of January, in accordance with the custom of this University, I delivered a sermon to the clergy, after the manner of my profession, in which, amongst many other things, in about the middle of the sermon, I said these three things, concerning which I have since been brought under accusation by Master the Vice-chancellor:—1. That God had created all men in Adam, after his own likeness, and so consequently to eternal life, from which also he drove away none, except for sin, as Damasus teaches, l. ii. cap. 29, concerning the orthodox faith. 2. That Christ died sufficiently for all men, in opposition to John Piscator, the German, who denies this, whose opinion I proved to be contrary to the confession of the Anglican Church, according to the Articles approved by the Parliament of this kingdom, and confirmed by the authority of Her Majesty the Queen in the thirty-first Article, the words of which I repeated. 3. That the promises made to us in Christ, as they are generally proposed in the sacred books, must be understood generally, as is also laid down in the seventeenth Article of the Anglican Confession. But indeed these three heads have not pleased certain persons who are endeavouring to persuade that God has hitherto created and still creates the greatest part of mankind designedly for perdition, that he may add to his own glory by their destruction; and that Christ has by no means died for all; not that many* reject his help, but that he himself is unwilling that his death should benefit them, because they are created, not for salvation, but for destruction. And for the same reason they are unwilling that the promises should be general, but extend or rather *confine* them to those few persons alone who, they allege, have alone been created by God that they may be saved. These are the things for which I am this day accused, and am vilified to you, most illustrious Sir. These things I candidly confess (as it becomes me to do when I speak in the presence of so great and so illustrious, so learned and religious a man) that I have spoken, and so far I believe them to be the true foundations

* In Mr. Heywood's volume the text is *nulli*, but the context evidently requires *multi*, which seems to be the reading Strype has followed.

of our, that is, the Christian religion. But indeed Master the Vice-Chancellor has treated me in respect to them not so much because I have said that which is false, as he accuses me that I have spoken against these nine new articles sent hither a few weeks ago. As to that which I have denied, I said that after a fashion I had it in my mind, but only to defend evangelical truth against John Piscator, whose little book I knew was in the hands of many young men; and therefore that against the new articles I neither have spoken nor wished to speak. Thus have these things been carried on. If I have committed any fault in them, I am in your power, my Lord; nor, as I have said, do I refuse your censure. And yet I humbly and earnestly ask and beseech your Lordship, and that too by the Eternal God, in respect to whose worship the dispute is carried on, that, in accordance with your renowned prudence and humanity, you be not willing to decide or to adopt any unfavourable opinion respecting me before you shall, in the exercise of your remarkable piety and learning, have investigated the truth of these three articles. And if, as I hope, I shall be found to have spoken what is true, you will be willing to stand in the way of the Vice-Chancellor here passing any severe decree against me. It is indeed to me a most serious thing, that after I have been in this your University a Professor of Theology now for twenty-four entire years, and that too for the mean stipend of twenty pounds, with which I have been contented, when, now worn out with old age, I was expecting some recompence for my labours from you, the Chancellor of this University, yourself a literary man and the friend and patron of literary men,—instead of this, the result is, that my reputation is in danger in the presence of your Lordship. But your judgment, so skilful and sterling on difficult and abstruse questions, is my consolation, and I trust that your Lordship will reserve one ear for me. Resting in this as in a harbour, I pray God, the greatest and the best, that he will long preserve and protect you, most illustrious Sir, in being for this Church, Kingdom and University. With profound respect for your rank and power, &c., P. Baro.

"Cambridge, Feb. 9, 1595."

It would not diminish the inveteracy with which Baro was pursued by his opponents, that they knew he had fallen under the displeasure of the Queen for having meddled in a controversy not only painfully abstruse, but calculated to stir up a contentious spirit. These feelings she had expressed to Whitgift, saying that it ill became a foreigner, who had in his own person and in that of his family found a peaceful and hospitable home at Cambridge, to be the occasion of stirring up an angry controversy. Elizabeth, with the high notions of the Tudor race, had little respect for the conscientious zeal of her subjects. She thought they ought to be satisfied with the teaching and the pastors provided for them by their rulers. In the early part of her reign, she was scarcely disposed to tolerate preaching at all, thinking there was ample religious instruction for the people in the Book of Homilies.

Lord Burleigh used his influence in behalf of the persecuted Professor. He sharply rebuked the chief movers against him,

telling them that they might punish him if they would; but that if they did, they would, in his opinion, do it for well-doing in maintaining the truth; that their proceedings betrayed unbecoming personal dislike; and that their treatment of Dr. Baro in their unsparing cross-examinations was such as would have suited a felon rather than a Christian scholar. The Chancellor succeeded in stopping the proceedings connected with the sermon, but he could not quench the malice out of which they grew.

The Margaret Professor was compelled to go through a biennial re-election to his office. What was ordinarily a mere form assumed under his circumstances a more formidable appearance; and we find in another letter of his to his patron a record of his doubts and anxieties.

P. Baro to Lord Burleigh.

"Most illustrious Sir,—That you have been willing to protect with your countenance one who months ago was destitute of all aid, has excited and continues to excite my warmest gratitude. But since I believe those who do not entertain this kindly feeling towards me, will be contriving some means when the time will come for my re-election in the office of Professor (which ought to take place towards the end of November, for then the term of two years will be completed), and there is no one save yourself, most excellent Mecænas, to whom I ought, can or should wish in preference to fly. I throw myself then on your power, and suppliantly beg that you will help me (if it were only in respect to your good-will to men of learning) to obtain a continuance in this office of Professor, lest for two years at least I seem, by the factious efforts of certain persons, to be cast out, with some loss of reputation. But I send to you, Sir, who are entitled to every mark of respect from me, my opinion concerning Predestination, out of which all this angry feeling has arisen up against me; and I beg that if, in the midst of your most weighty occupations, you are able to read it through, you will judge of what kind it is, and whether on account of it I am unworthy of your favour and this office in your University. And yet I send it on this condition, that if you find in it anything contrary to truth (which I scarcely expect, since this is the opinion of most Reformed churches); but yet that if your singular learning shall detect in it either error or obscurity, I may be enabled to correct the former and explain the latter. But if this opinion be true, I humbly beg of you, by the immortal God, that your piety may induce you to give it the help of your countenance, that it may not be overpowered; for certainly this truth stands in need of such a patron. Nor indeed is it my purpose, if through your influence I shall be confirmed in this office of Professor, to agitate this question amongst many, so as to offend any one, but only to touch upon it sparingly and modestly, if at any time occasion shall require it; or to abstain from it altogether, if your Lordship thinks it will tend to the advantage of the University, and to treat on other heads of theology. Therefore, most illustrious Sir, you shall decide for me, according to your will. For I am a man of that kind that I am ready either to speak or to be silent at your command; and I supplicate the great and good God to preserve you, the guardian of literary men, and especially

of your Cambridge friends, in safety, for this kingdom, for the church and for us. "Your Lordship's most humble servant,

"London, Sept. 17, 1596." P. Baro."

The result justified Baro's apprehensions. Notwithstanding the good-will of some friends at Cambridge, he found it useless to attempt to stem the tide of prejudice and dislike which threatened his ruin. Fuller, who is as often inaccurate in his statement of facts as he is happy in his remarks, says he retired in part because he could not condescend to tarnish his conscience by signing the new Lambeth articles. But this Arminian trap never received the Royal licence in Elizabeth's time. James I. also refused to sanction this portentous addition to the Thirty-nine Articles. To a friend who asked Baro why he withdrew, he replied, "Fugio ne fugarer"—"I fly lest I should be driven away." When Baro's time expired, Dr. Playfere, a Fellow of St. John's, was appointed Margaret Professor in his stead, and Baro, as Fuller hath it, was "cut off at the just joint."

A long list might be drawn up of ill-used Theological Professors, from Baro's time and before, down to the days of Dr. Hampden, Maurice and Jowett. Professedly difficult as are the subjects to which their learning is directed, they excite strong and passionate prejudices of like and dislike in men of every degree of capacity and attainment. All, however, conceive themselves equally qualified to sit in judgment on a Professor of Theology who by his demerits or his merits (and the one case occurs as often as the other) has roused a storm against himself. It is a sad spectacle when the less qualified majority commit an act of injustice and cruelty against a man of virtue and learning. This was widely felt in respect to good Peter Baro. Fuller, whose theological sympathies ran in a different direction, very candidly states the case:

"Some conceive this hard measure which was used to one of Dr. Baro's qualifications. For, first, he was a foreigner, a Frenchman. *Turpius ejicitur, quam non admittitur hospes.* Secondly, a great scholar; for he who denieth learning in Baro (so witnessed in his works) plainly affirmeth no scholarship in himself. Thirdly, an inoffensive man for life and conversation, seeing nothing of viciousness could be charged upon him, which otherwise, in his contest with Mr. Chadderton, had been against him. Lastly, an aged man, coming hither many years since (when the Professor's place as much needed him as he it), and who had painfully spent his strength in the employment."

What the after incidents in the few remaining years of this sufferer from Calvinistic bigotry were, we know not, beyond this, that he returned to London* and fixed his abode in Crouched

* Bayle, without due authority we suspect, states that he retired when driven from Cambridge to his native country.

Friars, and that his life closed before the century. Whether the darkening hours of his decline were cheered by the active patronage of Lord Burleigh, is not, we believe, recorded.* We may indulge the hope that the pains and mortifications of his enforced retirement were soothed by domestic affection. He left several children, who settled in and about Boston, in Lincolnshire, and one who qualified as a physician lived and died at Lynn Regis, in the neighbouring county of Norfolk.

Dr. Baro, the Arminian confessor, whose story we have thus endeavoured to put together from a great number of widely scattered authorities, was not allowed to go unhonoured to his grave, although when living he was wronged and deprived of the office he loved to fill and was qualified to adorn. His remains received honourable interment in the parish church of St. Olave, Hart Street. By the command of Bishop Bancroft (no lover of the tenets of Calvin, though almost of as strong a will), the clergy of London testified by their attendance at the funeral their respect for this learned Frenchman, and his pall was reverently borne by six Doctors of Divinity.

It is a coincidence somewhat creditable to the literary and religious hospitality of our sister Universities, that each offered, in the century of the Reformation, an asylum to a learned foreign Professor. As Cambridge had its Baro, Oxford, still earlier, had done honour to Peter Martyr, a Florentine, appointed Professor of Theology. And yet, in different ways, the name of each brought a stain on the University to which he devoted his talents. Cambridge, under the influence of Calvinistic bigotry, ejected in his age a virtuous man and an accomplished scholar. When Mary ascended the throne, Peter Martyr quitted Oxford in safety, and found a welcome at Strasburg. His residence in England had been embittered by the death of his wife, whom he interred at Oxford. She had been a nun. When Mary's wicked policy gave free play to all the bad passions of the Romanist party in England, it was in a most evil hour resolved to revenge the ecclesiastical scandal of the broken vows of Martyr and his late wife by exhuming her mouldering remains. The body was dug up and thrown on a dunghill, and there remained, a foul memento of religious intolerance, till the return of better days. Wide as the poles asunder as Calvinism and Popery are in respect to their theological tenets, they have not unfrequently been characterized by a similar spirit of intolerance. If the one had its martyrs at Smithfield, the other lighted up the murderous flame at Geneva.

* He saw that great luminary set a year or two before his own course was run. Several years previously, Baro had lost his friend and patron Dr. Perne. The continued intimacy between the latter and Whitgift, notwithstanding theological differences, is a pleasing fact. The Dean of Ely died in 1589 in the palace at Lambeth of that friend whom as a youth, more than thirty years before, he had sheltered from the Marian persecution.

WHAT IS THE BIBLE?*

It is encouraging to find the Bible chosen to inaugurate what is evidently intended to be a series of works elementary and popular; and that this first number of the series, having the Bible for its subject, is already published to the extent of the third thousand, and at a price adapted for its intended popularity. The announcement of these facts on the cover of the work, accompanied by the very succinct exposition of its contents in the form of the questions given above, appealed powerfully to our personal interest in the subject; and a glance at the actual contents invited us onward to a careful perusal. And now, after this careful perusal, we wish both to commend this short treatise to the attention of our readers, if only as exhibiting modern orthodox views on this subject in a popular form; and to make it the occasion of expressing our own views on several of its topics, in some instances by way of correction, in others by way of confirmation.

After a brief introduction, the best part of which consists of a quotation distinctly acknowledged to be from the writings of Mr. [Theodore] Parker, we have in Chapter i. an attempt to answer the question, What is the Bible? In other words, as the running title indicates, this chapter treats on the Canon, and aims to exhibit the principle on which our Scripture Canon was actually formed. In reading it, we could not help contrasting it unfavourably with the far more simple and intelligible treatment of the same subject which will be found in the Rev. Edward Higginson's "Spirit of the Bible" (Vol I. Ch. iii.), and this as the necessary result of the different principles which they severally adopt. Thus Mr. Morris, at the very commencement, represents the question of canonical authority as dependent on the previous question, What writings come from God? (p. 11); assuming at the outset a theory of inspiration which in a subsequent chapter (iii.) he proceeds to develop. Mr. Higginson, on the contrary, avoids all such inconvenient and possibly unwarrantable assumption; and looking at the formation of the Canon historically,—looking at it, in other words, as it was really effected, and not as, on a given hypothesis, it may be presumed to have been effected,—he shews that, as a fact, "the Old Testament contains the whole remaining literature of the Jews from the earliest times to about 400 years before Christ, or, including the Apocrypha, till the time of Christ" (Vol. I. p. 13); while, on the other hand, the New Testament (in connection with which the discussions in the formation of the Canon are

* No. I. The Excelsior Library.—The Bible: What is it? Whence came it? How came it? Wherefore came it? To whom came it? How should we treat it? By A. J. Morris. Pp. 127. London—John F. Shaw.

matters of history, while in connection with the Old Testament they are purely matters of tradition or even of imagination)—"the New Testament contains all books known or widely believed to be written by the apostles of Christ, together with a Gospel by Mark, and a Gospel and History of the Apostles by Luke,—both of them companions of apostles and believed to be competent historians of the origin of Christianity." (Vol. II. p. 164.) How much better is this than to assume a theory of inspiration which, whether true or false, is at any rate in the first instance assumed, and for which the evidence subsequently cited in this chapter appears to us altogether irrelevant!

We notice with approval, however, some very plain but important observations by Mr. Morris in this chapter: as when he calls on his readers to remember that "the Bible is not one book, but many books;" and proceeds to shew how the separate and independent existence of each book secures a separate and independent testimony, whose authority cannot be shaken by bringing that of any other of them into question. His citation from Tertullian is peculiarly note-worthy in connection with the New-Testament Canon; nor less the unacknowledged quotation from Lardner which immediately follows it, and which has been somewhat weakened in the transcript—that (to use Lardner's very words) "there are perhaps more and larger quotations of the small volume of the New Testament in this one Christian author (Tertullian), than of all the works of Cicero, though of so uncommon excellence of thought and style, in the writers of all characters for several ages." (Lardner's Credibility, Part ii. Chap. xxvii.)

We are pleased to observe that in Chapter ii. Mr. Morris distinctly asserts the *special* divine character and authority of Revelation, and of the Bible as containing it. He shews well the antecedent probability of revelation from the historical fact that it was needed, whence it was altogether likely that God would give it, and that mankind would be ready to receive it. He states succinctly, but powerfully, the evidence afforded by the character of the authors of the Bible and the nature of its contents. His remarks on its *unity* are peculiarly valuable, and might have enabled him to correct some of his own subsequent suggestions. "It meddles not with things in general, with the concerns of the world, but confines itself to one cause, the cause of God; gives the outer and inner history of a religion, and beautifully completes that history" (p. 35). This summary statement our author presently enlarges so as to include a passing recognition of some of the characteristic peculiarities of orthodoxy. It would be out of place here to do more than record our dissent. Let us record, however, at the same time, our warm approval of the argument derived from the character and conduct of Christ, which, though of course not new, is exceed-

ingly well condensed. Not many, we think, will be able to resist the conclusion: "The rejection of Christianity is not a getting out of difficulties, but a getting into them; and unbelief is the greatest credulity" (p. 42).

It is on the question of Inspiration, which forms the subject of the third chapter, that we find ourselves most directly at issue with our author. We quite agree with him in rejecting at the outset the prevalent sceptical idea that "the sacred writers were no otherwise inspired than other men of great soul, great genius, great religiousness" (p. 52). We are shocked to hear "Shakespeare, Plato, Mohammed, put into the same class with Isaiah, Paul, and Jesus Christ." We ask ourselves, whenever we hear (as we are sometimes constrained to do) such hasty generalizations, Have the men who make them really *read* the works which they thus throw together?—especially, have they read the writings of Isaiah and Paul, and the records of the life and character of Jesus Christ? If they have, we wonder that they are not struck infinitely more by the essential generic difference than by the occasional and superficial resemblance. Are we asked to define in what that essential generic difference consists? We reply that we discern it and feel it just as we discern and feel the force of natural genius, but can as little *define* (properly speaking) the one as the other. And yet we do not confound it with natural genius. Assuming as a very reasonable supposition, on the ground of the considerations advanced by our author in the previous chapter, that mankind needing a revelation of religious truth and duty, God would be likely to give it, and to give it in many parts and many ways as mankind became more and more able to receive it, we see in the several books which constitute the Bible, the record that He actually *has* given it, and of the plan and method by which He has given it. What other trustworthy record of a direct revelation have we beside this? And if this *be* trustworthy, and there be no other that is so, does not the direct revelation constitute the inspiration, and does it not give to its records throughout a distinctive and unique character of their own which can be justly assigned to no other writings whatever? Setting out, then, from the historical fact that the ancient heathen world in all its wisdom knew not God, nor was in the way to know Him,—and the no less unquestionable fact that the stiff-necked, enslaved, hardly improvable, ceremonial, selfish, worldly-minded Jews *did* know Him, and learned to know Him more and better, as their religious teachers through successive ages advanced from one degree of spiritual discernment to another, till their instructions and influences culminated and were perfected in the gospel of Christ,—we have a right to maintain that it is this specialty in which inspiration is involved, and that nothing else than this marked and powerful inspiration can explain the equally marked and impressive specialty.

"If it be alleged that the Jewish lawgivers and prophets were peculiar men, gifted religious geniuses, aboriginal saints and sages, then we would inquire why other nations, far more favoured by education, position and native talent, have not been able to produce, we do not say a whole list like that of the Hebrew commonwealth, but even one solitary character of a faith like Abraham's, of a purity like Joseph's, of a wisdom like that of Moses, of devotional song like the Psalms of David, of hallowed imagination like that of Isaiah, of a charity like the love of John, and of a zeal equal to Paul's."

The writer whose words we quote proceeds to shew yet farther the *power* and *permanence* of this special inspiration as constituting another of its grand and glorious distinctive peculiarities. We will not do him the injustice of curtailing his eloquent argument, but refer our readers at once to the admirable Essays prefixed to his Commentary and Translation of the Epistle of Paul to the Romans, by Abiel Abbot Livermore,—a work well deserving an attentive study.

But views such as these of the distinctive and special inspiration of the Sacred Writings, would be far from satisfying the author whose work is now under our review. He clings (if we mistake not) to the doctrine of plenary inspiration. "In no case (says he) can we believe the writer to have been without the counsels and motions of God's Spirit" (p. 68). Why not? we respectfully ask. What need of "the counsels and motions of God's Spirit" to enable Paul to give directions respecting his cloak and his parchments, or to order Timothy to take a little wine for the benefit of his health? How are the grand truths and influences of revelation concerned in these or in ten thousand other instances that might be alleged? How are they concerned with the innumerable errors (scientifically speaking) in which the Bible abounds, whenever it touches on matters of astronomy, geology, political economy, and similar topics? What is gained to truth or distinctness of conception by asserting, as this writer does, first the constant agency of special inspiration on the sacred writers, and (if we mistake not) on their writings, and then the disturbing, and sometimes entirely counteracting, agency of human ignorance, passion, infirmity, sin? How far more simple and obvious, more accordant with the facts presented for explanation, is the theory (1), that the Bible *contains* the records of revelation, rather than *is* that record; and (2) that the several writers were inspired only in regard to the grand distinctive *religious* truths and principles which they maintained, and not in regard to matters of ordinary occurrence or interest, with reference to all which they had no peculiar advantage over other men. Much will be gained, we think, both to just interpretation and spiritual influence, when men cease to regard the Bible as *being* the Word of God, and are prompted to exercise their attention, judgment and veneration upon it under the far

more intelligible, consistent and practical conviction that it *contains* that Word. It is not enough to say vaguely, with our author, that "we have this treasure in earthen vessels," unless we are careful to remember what is the nature of the treasure itself, so as not to confound it with whatever else those earthen vessels may happen to contain. Hence we are at a loss to know why the writers of the Gospels required "guidance," any more than "revelation" (p. 64) in recording facts of which they had themselves been eye-witnesses; nor do we see that anything is gained to truth or clearness of apprehension by stating that the communications of the Bible "were made through prevalent opinions and the appearances of things" (p. 66), when no just reason can be given, in any of the instances referred to, for believing that there was any actual "communication" at all. If "scientific truthfulness would not have been understood" (p. 66) even if it had been revealed, what right have we to assume that it *has* been revealed in the Bible; or if not *revealed*, what right have we to assume that it is even *implied?* Surely we do infinitely more honour to *religion* by reserving the agency of revelation entirely for *its* sacred truths and principles, rather than by endeavouring to claim that agency in connection with every topic and every incident which the Bible notices or records.

Our author closes this chapter of his work "with a remark or two on what are felt by many to be objections to almost any doctrine respecting the inspiration of the Bible" (p. 69). He thus states these objections:

"The Old Testament is alleged by them [the objectors] to contain so many things shocking to our moral sense and spiritual conceptions, that it cannot have come from God. The representations of what God is and said and did, are irreconcilable with inspiration."—P. 70.

And in like manner he remarks in an earlier part of this same chapter:

"The popular questions of the day have done much to prepare for infidel objections. Men are taking a deep interest in peace, and the amelioration of the civil code and liberty. This is very well; but it cannot be doubted that war, and slavery, and capital punishments, were allowed and sanctioned among the Jews. We don't ask whether they should be now, but we say they were once. Now if these things be essentially sinful, as many like to describe them,—that is sinful in their own nature,—they must be so always and every where, in all ages and states of society: they must have been so among the Jews: and we are shut up necessarily to one of two conclusions, either that God sanctioned what was wrong, or that the Old Testament is wrong in saying that He sanctioned it. There is no escape from one of these. The first cannot be. God could never sanction what is wrong in itself. The consequence is, that, taking these things to be wrong in themselves, the Old Testament is held to be wrong in saying that He did sanction them."—P. 54.

It is thus that our author states the difficulty—a difficulty which has led many of our most intelligent modern theologians (and these no sceptics or infidels neither) to reject the historical statement as intrinsically incredible. Such rejection we deem scarcely warrantable. If revelation must be gradual (as our author justly maintains), then it is quite conceivable that it may have been given in connection with many not merely speculative, but even practical errors, which it could not directly remove without violating that spiritual freedom, the maintenance and exercise of which it was especially designed to guide and cherish. Moreover, we think that the essential nature of *sin* is not justly apprehended by those who make this objection. Surely we must take into account the consciousness and will of the agent as well as the particular act; and unless it can be shewn that God is represented in the Old Testament as encouraging His people to violate their own convictions of right, we shall not be disposed to admit that He ever sanctioned actual *sin*, however opposed to sound morality might be some of the proceedings which He is said to have commanded or allowed. This brief suggestion we respectfully commend to the consideration of many of our own writers on this intricate and difficult subject.

As a consequence of our author's erroneous, though popular, views on the inspiration of the Scriptures, we are not surprised to find him laying down a rule for our manner of treating them, against which we must protest. We agree with him, that "it is not the province of reason to declare what ought to be in the Bible, but to inquire what is in it:" but we cannot go on with him to say, "Let our criticism be as sharp as possible in the way of eliciting the sense of Scripture; but having done that, it has nothing more to do. The activity of our powers is demanded by the task of interpreting the Bible; then passivity is their only proper state" (p. 122). Were the Bible indeed literally and every part alike the Word of God, this principle might be maintained; but if it only *contain* the Word of God, as we believe, or if (according to the acknowledgment of our author himself) its inspiration be occasionally subject to the disturbing influence of human ignorance, passion, infirmity, sin, there is surely a farther judgment to be exercised beyond that required for mere interpretation—a judgment, namely, on the question whether the sense of Scripture elicited by us be any part of the *revelation* which the Bible contains, or only some fallible human opinion or principle, on the value of which we are required still farther to exercise our judgment, instead of adopting it implicitly as our own.

At the same time, we are as far removed as our author from desiring to substitute mere *intuition*, whether speculative or moral, for the testimonies and arguments which were once deemed alone relevant to the decision of such subjects, or for the under-

standing and judgment to which alone they made their appeal. In order to admit the validity of an opinion on any matter, formed by the mere glance or look at it, whether with the bodily or spiritual eye, we must first be satisfied of the ability of the mind that looks through it; and we regard it as one of the worst signs of the times in which we live, that, in connection with our most vital interests, so many self-erected teachers and masters presume to set aside altogether the old-fashioned, careful, pains-taking method of inquiry and examination, and pander to the vulgar conceit that every man, altogether irrespective of any such method, is equally *able* to judge what is right. No wonder that *Evidences* are never mentioned in some coteries but with contempt, if every man's subjective individualism be evidence enough for him on all matters belonging to his spiritual welfare. No wonder that, to such persons, Christ himself, the living embodiment of divine revelation, is a needless superfluity, and can have no claim on their special regard. Yet we never see men act thus in connection with their worldly interests. Before you would take the intuitive judgment of any man on a yard of cloth or a bar of iron, you would be satisfied that this judgment had been previously trained and exercised by something more than mere intuition. Is it said that this is true, indeed, of material things, but not of things belonging to the mind and spirit? And is it from deep-thinking *metaphysicians* that we hear this false allegation? Do they not *know* by experience that it requires far more observation, knowledge, thought, reflection, to attain a just judgment in the province of *mind* even than in that of matter, and for the very reason that *mind* is in this province both agent and object? Even so, by *parity* of reasoning at least, a large amount of observation, knowledge, thought, reflection,—and no mere casual glance or self-reflecting gaze,—is needed in things *spiritual*, because *spirit* is, in its own peculiar province, both agent and object. We earnestly ask the consideration of our readers for these elementary but oft-neglected practical truths.

Our author has some admirable remarks, in his fifth chapter, on the right and duty of private judgment. He first establishes the right, and then proceeds as follows:

"No privilege is alone. No right is without obligation. If we are to choose our faith without the infallible teachings of a living authority, we are still to choose it. The duty is left untouched by the vindication of our liberty; or, rather, it is confirmed by it; for the more is thrown upon ourselves, the more bound are we to an active, honest use of our powers. * * * We may reject both the church and its tenets, and yet be wrong. Negation will not suffice. We cannot live by not taking poison. When we have wrought out this argument fully, we have only cleared the ground for action, we have only removed an obstacle out of our way. Still the call of God is to believe the truth, still his claim is

upon us to seek it out, to dig for it as for hidden treasure, to cultivate it as a precious plant, to fight for it as a glorious spoil. We may be out of Rome, and yet far from Heaven; we may reject the Pope, and yet not find the Saviour. * * * And do not in rejecting one authority substitute another. * * * As Henry the Eighth only took the place which he rescued from the Pope, so has it been with many among ourselves. The denominational creed—the leading spirit of a movement—the preacher—the magazine—aye, and the newspaper—sometimes receive as unreasoning an acquiescence as the decisions of the Vatican. And, let us add, do not *you* be Popes. Beware of the spirit of bigotry. Seek not to impose your views on others, be not judges of your brethren. Exercise an enlightened charity. Give the right you claim. * * *

"We have said that the right of private judgment does not mean that we have to decide on data to be found within our own minds. And this is a point of importance now. In throwing off authority, we must not put ourselves, any more than others, in its place. The world has shewn how dependent it is on something without—a revelation: and in interpreting that revelation, we must use other means than our own sentiments and instincts. * * * We must not neglect what is necessary to get at the real ideas which it is intended to convey. * * * And let not the truth you have obtained lie idle. * * * It is a prime way to get more truth, to employ faithfully the truth we have; it is the certain method of getting more light, to walk in the light that shines upon our path."—Pp. 104—108.

This is admirably said; and there are many other things equally admirable scattered throughout this small but pregnant and suggestive volume. Well will it be for the world, and for the practical influence of the Bible upon it, when such untenable assumptions as we have endeavoured to expose in this treatise shall be abandoned, and when the power of illustrating and enforcing important truth which its pages so often exhibit, shall be employed under the guidance of critical principles more just and consistent and intelligible than those of the popular orthodoxy. For its faults, originating in these popular errors, we could wish the treatise re-written; for its excellences in the frequent maintenance of enlightened and liberal views, and in the powerful application of them, we cordially commend it to the thoughtful consideration of our readers.

LAW OF EVIDENCE.

An artificial system dextrously contrived to keep the court ignorant of what every man out of court acknowledges to be the fact.—Jeremy Bentham.

[So it was: no writer has done so much to reform the Law, through the very men who were his revilers as long as they could, and when they could no longer do it, could only take their revenge by concealing their obligations to him. Few law reforms of the present day have been brought forward which may not be traced to him.—*The Transmitter.*]

GOADS AND NAILS.

The philosopher who wrote in the name of a monarch proverbial for wisdom and splendour, found no higher commendation for the words in which he taught the people knowledge, than that they were "as goads and as nails." The *comparison* is so apt as to be almost a *description* of those pointed maxims on which we are about to offer some remarks; and we venture to prefix it to this article, instead of the name of a book. Such is the usual modesty of writers in periodicals, that we scarcely feel at liberty to come before the public unless we can be presented at their court by an author, under whose title we introduce ourselves even while we are pulling him to pieces: and as some preachers write their sermon and then hunt for a text as a motto, so reviewers occasionally write their essay and then select their book. We will not, however, specify a book when treating of what is previous to all books. There were rules of life before tables of stone. If we did name a book, it would be the most ancient of all: for, since adages acquire weight by time, no modern writer, however great a master of language, can take precedence as a master of sentences. Proverbs and apophthegms preceded writing.

Words are sometimes the rich and curiously wrought tapestries which conceal the bareness of the edifice: sometimes they are strung together like pearls, which are ornaments of grace, but nothing more: sometimes, when "fitly spoken," they are as "apples of gold in pictures of silver,"—we feel the richer for them, and deposit them with our treasures, but they are not for every-day use. Other words are fleeting, as the lovely song of one that hath a pleasant voice; or as the bloom of the peach, which attracted us to the fruit: whilst we feed on the idea, the language which allured us to it is no more. We are not, however, about to write on beauties of diction, but on those sharp-pointed, well-turned aphorisms, those tenacious maxims, wise saws, and serviceable adages, which spur us on or fix us to duty; and for these the simile of Ecclesiastes (xii. 11) is very apposite. Whilst in his bewilderment it seemed to him as if all were vanity, and this scepticism tended to produce indolence and carelessness, by good heed he found sentences that were upright and truthful,—words of the wise which are as goads and as nails made fast, by which many a loose thought has been clenched, and many a sluggish purpose stimulated. And they are of no fleeting nature; but resemble the nails or pegs built into the very structure of Eastern houses, on which the wealth of the inhabitants, who are destitute of shelves and drawers and cabinets, may be arranged and secured.

As no one fixes a goad into a goad sharp as itself, but into a piece of wood, misshapen perhaps and blunt, so we feel that if

we write tamely upon pointed sayings, we may the better give a handle by which to grasp them; whilst if we leave much unsaid which the subject suggests to our readers, we shall but imitate the goad, which impels further than it reaches.

It is as obvious that sentences must be older than books, as that patriarchs precede the tribes which sprung from them. In ancient times the words of the wise were few: there was no plenty of words of any kind. In the spring-time of the world there could be but little fruit of thought. Abstract ideas would be rare, and the vocabulary from which to express them inconveniently narrow. How slowly must those general principles have matured, which are now the elementary lessons of our nurseries! How difficult to invent words to convey the new dictates of wisdom! How scanty the furniture of the mind, when these nails and pins were its chief resource and greatest ornament. But what is rare is precious; and there was an incentive to utter those dictates of wisdom which would be reported from neighbour to neighbour, and from father to son. When the memory had few external aids, it was necessary that these sayings should be memorable in themselves: when these aids were provided in picture-writing, they would not diminish the tendency to utter thoughts pictorially: and when abstract marks were invented for abstract words, they would be so few at first, that ideas still required brief and pregnant phrases. But a copious vocabulary facilitates a diffuse style: moreover, Memory has such an immense establishment now, that she is sometimes lost among her servants: we commit our thoughts to them instead of to her. Trusting to paper and ink, we take less pains to engrave our words indelibly on the tablets of the mind. *Litera scripta manet*—the written word remains, but remains forgotten. We too often collect libraries, instead of storing the words of the wise in our minds; but in our superabundance we learn the need of those memorable sayings which our forefathers in their scarcity found to be the necessaries of mental life.

Mr. Wellbeloved, in his very valuable Introduction to his Translation of the Book of Proverbs, shews how adapted the method of instruction by aphorisms or moral sentences was to an early state of society, how it has prevailed in the East, and how it has been sanctioned by classical usage. Some of the most eminent authors of antiquity have made collections of them; and Lord Bacon, the great advancer of modern science, has shewn a similar taste. In his Preface to his Collection of Apophthegms, he says,

"Certainly they are of excellent use. They are *mucrones verborum*, pointed speeches. The words of the wise are as goads, saith Solomon. Cicero prettily calleth them *salinas*, salt-pits, that you may extract salt out of, and sprinkle it where you will. They serve to be interlaced in continued speech. They serve to be recited upon occasion of them-

selves. They serve if you take out the kernel of them, and make them your own."

In his Ornamenta Rationalia there are more of these pointed sayings; and those that abound in his Essays will never cease to be "interlaced in continued speech" by many who may not know their origin.

"Brevity is the soul of wit," yet it may be the skeleton of folly. "He who is sparing of his words hath knowledge: an intelligent man is of a grave spirit:" and in old times, since no one could have natural wisdom enough to furnish a lengthened discourse, a great flow of words would appear either a supernatural inspiration or the babbling of folly. Silence was the nurse of thought, and sometimes the guardian of stupidity: even the fool, till he opened his lips, was deemed a man of understanding; and paucity of words is a convenient resource for those who wish to be thought wise, without having wise thoughts. For if a man seems fixed in silence, it must, we think, be an acute observation or a sharp aphorism which goads him to utterance: if his machinery of speech is so difficult to move, it must needs be a forcible idea or weighty apophthegm which at last sets it going: and so indeed he esteems it, if we judge from his oracular delivery, proclaiming to others that silence which he has so long imposed on himself. But perhaps "he speaks, yet he says nothing:" we only wonder how he came to break his silence, and soon forget the unmeaning noise of the fracture. Shakespeare's description is familiar to us:

> "There are a sort of men whose visages
> Do cream and mantle like a standing pond;
> And do a wilful stillness entertain,
> With purpose to be dress'd in an opinion
> Of wisdom, gravity, profound conceit;*
> As who should say, *I am Sir Oracle,*
> *And when I ope my lips let no dog bark!*
> O, my Antonio, I do know of these,
> That therefore only are reputed wise
> For saying nothing; who, I am very sure,
> If they should speak, would almost damn those ears
> Which, hearing them, would call their brothers fools."
>
> *Merchant of Venice*, i. 1.

Those who have great facility of diction, and are celebrated for connected arguments and a flow of eloquence, do not despise the manufacture of the goads and nails of thought. A diffuse writer may exert a wider influence than the man whose fame rests, like an inverted cone, on a pointed saying. Yet he seems merely to *furnish* the mind; and what he has placed there will be admired and used, and then will lose shape, and be worn out,

* The change in the meaning of this word is significant.

and forgotten, and discarded for something else more in the fashion; whilst the nail built up in the wall is a fixture. There is something glorious in an immortal thought, which lives not only in its descendants, but in itself. Thales taught much which affected the minds of his disciples, and thence what they taught to others: his intellectual life may thus be in existence, whilst it has lost its identity through its transformations; but the brief precept, *Know thyself*, to which he gave birth, gives him immortality.

Some artificers of sentences do not willingly make anything else. They are tardy of utterance, and their thoughts are not poured forth, swelling with heat, and ready to take any mould that is set for them; but they require to be wrought, for they cannot be cast; and the makers secretly and toilsomely hammer at them, and perfect their shape, and bring them to a point; nor will they display them unless they seem exactly fitted for their purpose.

A *sentence* is indeed most sententious when it stands by itself: like a fortress, the earth round which has been dug away to make a rampart and a moat, its isolation is its security. A sentence decides us when it cuts away all access to doubt; and decision is often promoted by excision: when we do not see the path of reasoning which led to an assertion, we do not see the way out of it: exit and entrance are alike unknown. If a man displays his processes of thought, we question them stage by stage; but if his judgment come forth like Minerva from the brain of Jupiter, not assailable in infantine weakness, but armed at all points, it demands our assent.

Stimulating and tenacious words will never cease to have a peculiar influence: we may be allowed to dwell a little longer on those characteristics that make them memorable.

They must be few in number:

> "Short be the precept which with ease is gained
> By docile minds, and faithfully retained."*

They must be condensed, and mean more than at first appears. They must fall on the mind not as mere stones, but as fruit stones: the shell must have a kernel within: if hollow, it will be easily crushed to atoms. The kernel may itself burst the shell, but only to expand into a tree. Bishop Lowth† quotes Demetrius Phalereus, who says,

"The brevity of this kind of composition, and the condensing of much thought into a small compass, renders it more sententious, more

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* Quicquid præcipies, esto brevis, ut cito dicta
Percipiant animi dociles, teneantque fideles:
Omne supervacuum pleno de pectore manat.
Hor. Ars. Poet. 335—337.

† Prelections on Hebrew Poetry, No. xxiv.

sage and expressive. As in a small seed, the whole power of vegetation which is to produce a tree is contained."

They must accurately convey the idea intended. A truth without form is, to all intents and purposes, void: those who give it form are mental creators—authors. The vapours which might else float comet-like, they condense into worlds: the chaos of thought they resolve into its elements, and separate the waters from the firm ground. The fleeting and vanishing seem fixed. Things that once we knew about, now we feel to know. There cannot be life without form; when there is form, there is at least a preparation for life: a thought embodied in right words has its true form. Monstrosities are often short-lived: the most shapely expressions promise the most healthy existence. When we attempt to convey feelings of beauty in ungainly sentences, they may perish before they reach the minds of others. But beautiful words for beautiful thoughts, grand and sublime words for majestic and exalted thoughts, plain words for simple thoughts, live themselves and cherish the life of that which they contain; as the sound body nurtures the sound mind.

The ideas we need in our journey through life should be skilfully packed, or they may crumble away in our memory. Ancient proverbs had usually a poetic form: the *cadence* of the sentence promotes its *decidence*. Rhyme has lent its aid; for many a line, which might have been lost by itself, goes safely when it has a true yokefellow, keeping time with equal feet and uttering harmonious response. Safely, and attractively too,

"'A verse may reach him who a sermon flies,'

said Herbert, whose own religious lyrics have, I doubt not, often proved the truth of his remark." *

Sometimes the words of the wise are *proverbs* or *saws* † which stand out above other words and sayings; or *adages* ‡ fitted for daily life; or *sentences*, the results of thought; or *aphorisms* with their distinct definitions; or *precepts* which teach authoritatively; or *axioms* worthy of all acceptation; or *apophthegms*, great truths bursting into utterance; or *maxims*, the greatest of all. They gain *insertion* in the memory by *sharpness* of *point*, or are *hooked* to it by some clever *turn*, or have a *double hold* through a *double meaning*,§ or are *embalmed* in it by some *spicy*

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* Golden Sentences, selected by Rev. Joseph Hunter.

† A *saw* is, we suppose, a *saying*, since the German words for to saw and to say are so similar; else we might have fancied that our ancestors wanted their sharp sayings to cut like saws through the blocks of stupidity and ignorance.

‡ *Vossii Etymologicon* gives various definitions of *adagio* and *adagium*.

§ The *paranomasia* (pun) is as scriptural as the *paroimion* (proverb). The sternest masters of sentences and words set them to *play*: it often strengthens their grasp. Prophets have pointed their most terrible denunciations with puns; and the quick and powerful words of the most earnest preachers have cut with double meanings as with two-edged swords.

wit, or become familiar to it through some homely illustration, are legends to some favourite picture, are inscriptions on some durable image, are the burden of a never-forgotten song.

Sayings that gained currency when thought was scarcer than now, retain it through a prescriptive rather than an intrinsic value. We may examine a new coin; but an old one, with not half the metal in it, passes without suspicion. Though we may not decipher the inscription, to reject it were to mistrust all those who have made it trite by their wear of it. And what would be despised as commonplace, is venerable through antiquity. "Wickedness proceedeth from the wicked,"—David urges it on Saul as "a proverb of the ancients." A truth strikes with momentum when it falls from an epoch centuries above us.

Sometimes we are stimulated by what a stranger from a distance may say to us: we remember what was addressed to us in a foreign tongue: and living truths clothed in dead languages may awe us into submission, like visitors from the tomb. A saying may appear peculiarly valuable when we have taken peculiar pains to learn it: what was costly seems precious: and we may mistake our own sharpened apprehensions for its point. The minute attention given to the classics has doubtless added influence to their words: the sentences that have been driven into the youthful mind stick there like nails. When skill in verbal criticism and heathen scholarship was a step towards the highest promotion in the Christian church, and a clever allusion to a Latin author seemed more effective in Parliamentary debate than the best common sense, it is not surprising that the sayings of the classics were regarded as aphorisms. Even without any absurd deference to them, we love the words round which so many associations cluster, and which often recal the beautiful passages in which they occur: we think more of the dried flower, than of the plant which blooms at our feet, if it takes us back to the mountain where we gathered it.

There are English authors who speak with authority. Even when we might express our own ideas more accurately and pointedly in our own words, we prefer to quote from those whose reputation for profound and varied knowledge of human life gives a force to their sentences which strikes them home. *Ipse dixit:* the master hath said it. It is not indeed every wise man whose words retain their power. Wonders of an age may perish with it. Some who used goads freely enough in conversation, and clenched their arguments with many a nail, seem pointless in their writings. The pen and the tongue are different weapons: the study and the arena for colloquial struggles have different influences: personal collisions may awake startling and memorable utterances. Dr. Johnson does not knock down and transfix his readers, as he did his hearers.

We are not going now to consider the immense influence of

Scripture texts. Those who believe in the inspiration of the Bible and of no other books, must deem the most ordinary expressions of sacred penmen as of infinitely greater force than the most elaborate results of secular wisdom. Everything uttered by the Holy Ghost must in the highest sense be an apophthegm. Even without reference to its Author or authors, Scripture abounds in the nails and goads of thought, as well as in the staffs for pilgrimage and conductors for heaven's lightning. What may not have been meant for nails has been cut up into them. The division into texts sometimes spoils the sense, and interrupts the course of the narrative or the continuity of argument; but at all events these fragments of divinity have been hammered, by innumerable sermons, into the minds of multitudes, where they would not else have found an abiding-place, and stick fast, though the hammers be lost.

He who spake as never man spake, is not said to have written anything (except in the dust, John viii.):

> "But in his life the law appears
> Drawn out in living characters:"

and what has proved true of him holds good in humbler instances. A commonplace maxim claims our notice when inscribed on a life. Epithets of praise stimulate to emulation, when descriptive of those who deserved it. Ordinary precepts claim regal honour, when they have ruled the conduct of men. Words gain character from those who revealed their character. So much are men influenced by what relates to men, that a name appended to a saying helps its currency, though we do not know the endorser. Even an imaginary name gives a hold on our sympathy and memory: we listen to "Poor Richard," and remember his shrewd maxims.

Ludicrous incidents have sometimes originated serviceable adages; and humorous writers have fixed a thought through their comic personages, who amuse us, and so we like to meet them and become familiar with them, and are not deterred by false pride from allowing their truths to penetrate. Dickens has a great gift this way. Many who will not be taught by an apostle to "rejoice in tribulation," will learn of Mark Tapley to be "jolly under creditable circumstances"! Laughable parody may sharpen the point of a blunt reality: absurd exaggeration may impress a practical truth: the jester puts off his cap and bells, and tarries as our monitor. Sometimes, trusting to the licence of these baubles, court fools have stepped in (and said the word in season) "where angels" of court preachers "dared not tread"!

We may read very sensible books, and carry away *impressions*, but not *expressions;* and apparently flimsy books, and pick up jewels; as diamonds are found in gravel, and flints in chalk.

Sometimes when we are most painstaking to make a striking likeness of a thought, we fail; and accident may do more than skill: as the artist who toiled in vain to paint the foam of a horse, found that chance had done it for him, when in despair he had thrown his sponge against his picture. Or, as it is said to have been the case with Haydn, when he failed to satisfy his friend in his musical representation of the tossing, conflicting waves in a storm,—in a desperate mood he run his hands across the piano, one from the top to the bottom, the other from the bottom to the top; his friend embraced him with enthusiasm, for his success seemed complete. Nelson owed partly to accident his immortal saying. He ordered that "Nelson expects every man to do his duty," should be signalled to his fleet at Trafalgar; but one of his flag-lieutenants suggested that *Nelson* would require a signal *for each letter*, while *one* signal served for *England*. What else would only have been an incentive to Nelson's seamen, has become the motto in every enterprize to which England sends her sons. In the alchemy of language, as in physical chemistry, the most important results have seemed almost fortuitous, because unexpected.

The nature and use of pointed sayings is of practical importance, because they exert a deep and wide-spread influence. Nations not only adopt proverbs which are common by means of literature to every civilized land, but they have many peculiarly their own. It has been said, that a people may be judged by its proverbs; for nothing can be popular unless it accords with popular tastes; and words that have a frequent place on men's tongues and in their memories, must influence their thoughts and lives. Districts, too, have their favourite sayings, indicative of their character and of the ideas with which the characters of the rising race will be formed. Families have their maxims, handed down from father to son, like heirlooms; built into the structure of the family mind; helping to confirm the peculiarities which mark men's breeding, and shew the home in which they were reared. Individuals have their favourite mottos. The knights of old put them on their shields and banners, and they remain among those of their descendants, sometimes inappropriately enough for peaceful citizens, but occasionally offering a noble incentive, of which some illustrious member of their house has proved worthy. Though ideas are offered us in such profusion, we still find persons of narrow minds who may be said to be persons of one idea, which is to them as a friend sticking closer than a brother. *Never despair:* in the midst of weakness they hear the word; like the war-cry of the old hero, at which he sprung to arms, their despondency or listlessness vanishes—they "make an effort," persevere, and often succeed. *Onward:* when resting satisfied after low achievements, this goads them to climb higher and higher still. *It's all for the*

best: on this smoothed nail they hang up their cares out of the way, and unencumbered and cheerful rise from their gloom. But evil results from the perversions or untimely applications of folly. They sometimes think it *all for the best*, and rest content; whilst they neglect those exertions or that mental discipline which might make it so: they are goaded *onward* to kick against the pricks, when their true strength is to stand still and consider; or, shouting *Excelsior*, they rush over the precipice: they exclaim *Nil desperandum*, when failure should prove to them that they must look out for some wiser course, if they would avoid the blindness of obstinacy. Comic writers have found a great source of amusement in describing those who always harped on the same string and sounded the same note, in season and out of season; but it is a matter of tragedy when a blind adhesion to a limited principle drags men to ruin.

There are some maxims so extremely comprehensive, that they are applicable to every emergency; such as that brief saying in which the whole law is comprised, *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself;* and the golden rule by which this love must be carried into action, *Do unto others as ye would they should do unto you.* Yet the grandest principles will be distorted by crooked minds; whilst the others that we quoted need never lead men wrong, if they interpret them aright.

It would be an interesting subject of inquiry, but one on which we will not detain our readers, how memorable sayings come to be fixed in the mind; for the goad does not pierce unless there is some hand to urge it, nor is the nail riveted without a hammer. Even a saying which seems to have little point may be driven in by a great force of circumstance. The words by which we remember the departed; those which seemed peculiarly appropriate to some susceptible season in our lives; those which fell in with some train of thought, and strengthened it; or those which opposed and altered it,—are not likely to be forgotten. Mr. Hunter tells us respecting Bishop Hall, "the English Seneca," that

> "While at the University, he defended the thesis, *Mundus senescit* (The World grows old). We may perceive a correspondency with this theme running through his later productions. He is not the only instance of the prevalence, in after life, of a particular train of sentiment which took its rise in a college exercise. The mind at such a period is more intensely directed on the subject of its consideration: it is less apt to give the due force to objections; it is more plastic; and the applause which rewards diligence is more grateful."—*Golden Sentences*, p. 3.

The Memoir of Dr. Carpenter relates how his guardian impressed upon him the word *Try* when he was a child (pp. 14, 15), and one of his distinguished scholars records its subsequent influence:

"Dr. C. was not less fond than others of those precepts of discipline, and maxims of life, by which elders vainly endeavour to convey to the young the moral experience of riper years. But from him they never appeared prosy or tiresome, or produced the repugnance and disgust with which they are apt to affect a set of thoughtless boys; partly, because they were no mere lip-wisdom, idly substituting abstract aphorisms for that laborious and concrete guidance which early years require; partly, because they were not dead formulas, copied from Solomon or any other sage, but fresh authentic thoughts of the mind that uttered them, having their meaning, if not their phrase, indigenous and self-rooted there. The force and significance which your father gave to his favourite monosyllabic rule, '*Try*,' can be forgotten by few of my schoolfellows; and the rule itself aptly expresses two of his characteristic sentiments:—his dislike of the dreamy, imaginative temper which contents itself with the visual look and longing desire of good achievement, while shrinking from the practical *nisus* of the will,—and his persuasion that without a spirit of adventure and a readiness to fail, there could be no high excellence, no proper *faith* in any law of obligation, but only (if I may use the Stoic comparison) a *selfish game* of life, meanly played for its prizes rather than its skill. The earnestness with which he insisted on the smallest things being done *well* ['Whatever is worth doing, is worth doing well'], was an indication of the same kind." *

It is said of the profound Bentham, that

"He was accustomed to trace the whole current of his thoughts to some great truth—some concentrated aphorism—some clear fountain from which they flowed. Among the most influential were those which he found in the works of Bacon, such as *Respice finem*, Look to the end—*Fiat experimentum*, Try the test of experiment—*Let reason be fertile, let custom be barren*—and that phrase originally used by Beccaria, but which found its way into the writings of Priestley,† *The greatest good of the greatest number*. * * These and similar condensations of philosophy and ethics were the foundations of the structures which he raised."—*Howitt's Journal*, II. 124.

Unhappily, bad and foolish sayings may be as terse and as effective as the words of the wise. Cunning, profligacy and vice, may speak cleverly, wittily and pointedly. There are popular fallacies built into the structure of popular morality; and bad maxims which tear all that hitches on them, instead of being useful pegs on which to hang our thoughts; and clever turns of

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* Mr. Martineau's letter in the Memoir of Dr. Carpenter, p. 345.

† The phrase adopted by Bentham was, "The greatest happiness of the greatest number;" and he expressly says (1821) he was indebted for the phrase, as describing the only just purpose of government, "upwards of fifty years ago, to a pamphlet of Dr. Priestley's." Mr. Rutt sought in vain for the phrase, but he found the sentiment in Priestley's "Essay on Government," published in 1768. The words actually penned by Priestley were less sententious in their form than those mistakenly quoted by Bentham, viz., "The good and happiness of the members, that is, the majority of the members, of any state, is the great standard by which everything relating to that state must finally be determined." See Rutt's Life of Priestley, I. 52, note.—Ed. C. R.

expression which may turn men to destruction; and good jokes which prompt bad practices: the wit that preserves them in our memory does not preserve our hearts from the impurity which it decks or the ill-nature which it hides. There are some things which are so driven into our minds, that we do not know how to draw them out; whilst the more we knock at them, the firmer they stick; and we learn, later than we wish, that we should have prevented their entrance by hardening our minds with such moral indignation, that their point should have been turned as against flint. There are goads which have been handled by passion. Cato was a man who wrote copiously; but men remember his three words, *Delenda est Carthago*, by which he impelled his people to exterminate their rivals; and in modern days the recklessness of aggressive ambition has been stimulated by the immoral sentence, "Our Country—right or wrong!"

Although aphorisms seem peculiarly suited to an early age of society, they are never likely to lose their influence. Popular lecturers have lately been devoting some time to the exposition of our proverbs. The proverbs of a people form their oral secular gospel,—if indeed we can call that a gospel which consists not of the glad-tidings of hope and joy, but of the monuments of ancient wisdom. We have noticed in public meetings how much sensation is caused by a well-applied proverb: a homely saying will sometimes bring home to "men's business and bosoms" the truths that had seemed abstract before. Preachers lose a great help of authority if they neglect in their discourses the due insertion of weighty and pointed texts,—deterred, it may be, by disgust at those who heap them in, careless of how they point or where they goad. No doubt many aim unwisely at a pointed style. Point should be the exception, else it ceases to be point: thousands of needles packed side by side could not pierce as far as one: the nearer the points, the smoother the surface. Even where the microscopic eye of a critical *reader* may detect the point which lurks in each sentence, the *hearer* loses it in the current of discourse. Or if it be perceived, the preacher may defeat his object, and revolt, by his apophthegmatic utterance, those for whom he entertained such respect, that nothing but what was weighty or keen seemed deserving their consideration.

We remember with some confusion that "the words of the wise are *few*," and must release our readers to recal from their own experience and observation how much effect is produced by the proper use of these sayings. The sharper the tool, the better for the skilful, the more dangerous for bunglers. It requires no little sagacity to discover what is the right nail for the right place, and the right mode and time for fixing it.

R. L. C.

A LAYMAN'S RELIGION.*

It is peculiarly interesting to study the thoughts of a well-informed and serious-minded layman on theological subjects. We would never have such subjects regarded as *professional*, and reserved for handling by the clergy of any or all denominations. Nor indeed are they claimed as such by any Christian ministry, except that of the Romish Church and its imitators in the ultra High-Church among ourselves. Protestantism virtually abolished Theology as a profession, by making every man who is true to its spirit his own priest before God. Still there is a certain professional style by which clerical theologians may commonly be recognized, and from which it is the high praise of some few to be free; while the layman is guilty of vicious affectation if he falls into it. It would be his worst dispraise that his book should pass for a clergyman's; while it would be to the high credit of any clergyman to write so untechnically and freely on the theory of religion, that his *cloth* should not be suspected by his readers.

In the other "learned professions," the same thing is scarcely admissible. Law and Physic cannot so well tolerate lay meddling. The layman who pleads his own cause is said (not without reason) "to have a fool for his client;" and he who physics himself or others contrary to legitimate practice is "a quack." The distinction is due to the greater degree of technicality that necessarily belongs to these latter professions; and also to this great characteristic, which no professional claims can disguise,—that the two latter are concerned with bodily and temporal interests, in which men *can* serve (and by insufficient qualifications may damage) the interests of their fellow-men; while the former contemplates those spiritual interests which every man must defend or heal within his own personal sphere, and which *no one can* undertake for his neighbour. This distinction is virtually felt and acted upon by every private Christian who earnestly seeks to lead a religious life; and the attempt is vainly made by High-Church claims to confound it by running a false parallel between the clerical profession and the other two, so as to make the priest the licensed dispenser of spiritual medicine and heavenly law. Men know and feel in their hearts and consciences that they must be religious *for themselves*, though they need not and cannot be every man his own lawyer or physician.

It is useful and refreshing indeed, and beneficial even to these more occult professions of Law and Medicine, to bring an occasional contribution of lay thought and experience to bear upon their sacred mysteries and technicalities. The patient can at

* An Inquiry concerning Religion. By George Long, Author of "An Essay on the Moral Nature of Man," "The Conduct of Life," &c. Longman and Co. 1855.

least describe what the physic does to him, and the client what the law and lawyer inflict; and thus laymen's practical thoughts on the one profession and the other have had no small influence in the reformation and improvement of both. And whatever may be sometimes said of the indisposition of professional theologians to give up their *points of repose*, the other learned professions are more liable to the charge, as being more removed from *lay* influence than the clergy, whose *laity* feel bound to be theologians as well as themselves.

In this open field of theological or religious inquiry (for an *Inquiry* into Religion is matter of *theology*) we hail Mr. Long as an earnest and clear-headed expounder of those simply grand views of Christianity which place it in beautiful harmony with Nature.

His book opens with a brief chapter on the "Being and Attributes of God," in which he touches the *à priori* argument, but rests on the *à posteriori*, and treats the question of Evil more wisely by acknowledging its difficulty than if he had professed to solve it. He wisely says of the ready objection that evil disproves either the perfect power or the perfect goodness of the Deity:

"This objection appears to me to assume that we have a more distinct conception of the attributes of the Deity and of the universe, than our limited faculties can possibly attain."—P. 20.

And again:

"But, says the objector, why might not the good have been attained without the evil? I can only answer that I do not know, and that I am not concerned to know. There is, in inquiries of this sort, much which lies beyond the boundaries of human apprehension. When we consider the action of material substances on one another, we easily perceive that it is calculated to produce, and that it does produce, beneficial results; but if we are asked why matter was created with the particular qualities which belong to it, we have no answer to give. The subject is beyond our reach. In like manner we can give no reason why man is made as he is. Our only way of understanding such subjects as we are now considering, is by observing the relation which one being or thing bears to another, their connexion with each other, and their mutual action; and if these tend to good, as we have already seen that they do, they afford abundant reason for our being satisfied of the benevolent design of the Creator. More especially should we be diffident in forming conclusions on this abstruse subject, when we are acquainted with a very small part of the universe, and for a very limited duration."—Pp. 21, 22.

The second Part (still more brief than the first) is on "Natural Religion," which, as now understood by Theists, he rightly represents as indebted to Revelation for much "reflected light."

The third and principal Part (to which the former two are merely designed as introductory, and the fourth as supplement-

ary) is devoted to "the Christian Religion." Judaism forms no part of our author's direct inquiry, but is only assumed or understood in its historical connection with Christianity. The nature of the Christian Scriptures, their authenticity, their credibility, their contents, and, as seen therein, the essential characteristics of Christianity, are the subject matters of inquiry.

Mr. Long is old-fashioned enough to see no difficulty as a Theist in admitting miracles in attestation of a divine revelation:

"The very essence of the Christian religion is the belief that it is from Heaven. He that does not believe that it really is a revelation from God, cannot be called, in any propriety of language, a Christian. If, as seems to be the case with some in the present day, a man by styling himself a Christian only means that he assents to the precepts of Jesus, as good in themselves, and calculated to improve the human race, he may be called a Christian, in the same sense that a follower of Aristotle is called an Aristotelian; but that is quite a different meaning from that which from the earliest times has been given to the word Christian, and it is reasonable to expect, that he who gives a new sense to old and recognized terms should begin with an explanation of the meaning he annexes to them."—P. 49.

"Embracing then the gospels as setting forth the common facts in the life of Jesus, it remains to consider whether his claim to supernatural authority is supported by such evidence as should command our assent." P. 100.

We have not seen Hume's celebrated sophism turned inside out more clearly than by Mr. Long:

"As experience and testimony are put in opposition in this passage, and as the force of its reasoning entirely rests on the superior weight of the former to the latter, we will now consider what this experience really is. At the time when the 'Essay on Miracles' was published, Hume was about 36 years old. Does he mean to say that his confidence in the permanence and regularity of the laws of nature was derived from his individual experience in the few years in which he had lived? This would indeed have been drawing a very large conclusion from extremely limited premises. The author, however, was far too acute and able a reasoner to fall into such an error. In a former part of the essay he thus expresses himself:—'A miracle is a violation of the laws of nature; and as a firm and unalterable experience has established those laws, the proof against a miracle, from the very nature of the fact, is as entire as any argument from experience can possibly be imagined.' It is obvious that the force of this argument turns entirely on the meaning which is assigned to the word experience. If we are to understand by it the experience of the thirty-six years of Hume's life, the argument has no force whatever. This is easily shown. It is a supposable case undoubtedly that changes may have taken place in the general laws of nature. Supposing, then, we had been informed by historians of former times, that the course of the sun and the tides of the sea had, in distant ages, been different from those which existed in the eighteenth century, a man would scarcely have been thought in his sober senses who should assert that the experience of the six-and-

thirty years of Hume's life was sufficient to establish the permanence of the laws of nature against this conflicting testimony of the old historians of former ages. Surely no rational doubt can be entertained that the word experience, in the passage in question, means the experience of all times concerning which we have any authentic information; and what does this amount to but human testimony? We believe in the regularity and permanency of the laws of nature, because they have been permanent and regular within our own very limited experience; and because the credible chronicles of former periods of the world's history have in general agreed in giving accounts of physical facts perfectly consistent with our own experience. The experience then on which this acute philosopher founds his argument is, for the most part, drawn from human testimony; and the question whether credit should be given to assertions of a deviation from the laws of nature, will depend in every case on the degree of weight to which the testimony which supports it is, under the circumstances in which it is given, entitled." Pp. 106—108.

After summing up the contents of the various books of the New Testament, Mr. Long expresses his doctrinal belief as a Christian in the following passage:

"I have now gone through the whole of the New Testament with a view to ascertain what are the leading and most important doctrines of the Christian religion; and I have arrived at the following conclusions: That Christianity is a dispensation of mercy and goodness with which it has pleased Almighty God to bless the human race through the instrumentality of his Son our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, whom he sent into the world to seek and to save that which was lost; that as all men had become sinners by failing to yield obedience to the Divine law, all were liable to punishment, and therefore in need of forgiveness; that Jesus Christ was authorized by God to declare not only forgiveness of sins, but the unspeakable gift of a happy eternity to those who believe in him, and live in obedience to the laws of God; that the first and greatest of the commandments is, to love the Lord our God with all our hearts and souls, minds and strength, and the second, to love our neighbours as ourselves; that our Saviour inculcates humility, purity, fortitude, and all that the best and wisest moralists have called virtue; and that, as an essential part of the Divine dispensation, Jesus Christ devoted himself to the instruction of his hearers, gave them in his own person a perfect example of a religious and virtuous life, wrought miracles in attestation of his Divine mission, endured privation and persecution, submitted to a most painful and ignominious death upon the cross, rose from the dead on the third day, and, after many interviews with his disciples, and giving them instructions to promulgate his religion in the world, ascended into heaven. The New Testament further informs us that the apostles professed to be the chosen witnesses of their Master's resurrection; claimed to be endued with supernatural power; and that they engaged in a life of peril, and suffered persecution in their efforts to convert the world to the religion of Jesus Christ. I have found that throughout the Acts, the Epistles, and the Revelation, the same doctrines are uniformly taught. The object of Christianity is frequently said in the Epistles to be, to reconcile

man to God, that is, to induce him to repent of his sins, to believe in the Divine mission of Jesus Christ, and to live in obedience to the commandments of God. The notion that the end of the mission of Christ was to reconcile God to man, arose at a subsequent period; and, extensively as it has prevailed in the world, it has no scriptural foundation. The language of the New Testament is, that God sent his Son into the world to save sinners. Goodness and mercy have always characterized the dispensations of the Almighty to his human creatures; and the end of all is to bring them to a just sense of his unspeakable perfections, and to an imitation of his moral attributes. Piety and virtue are the only road to happiness; or, to speak more correctly, they are the main constituents of happiness. A man of exalted piety, and of benevolence extended to all whom he can in any way benefit, has in himself a continually flowing spring of felicity which the world can neither give nor take away. All the dispensations of God are intended to lead his human creatures to this state. The Greek philosophers, especially the Stoics, went to extravagant lengths in representing man as capable of rising above the influence of external circumstances, and, being happy in himself, to whatever evils from without he might be exposed. This is not, nor ever can be, the condition of man in this world, constituted as it is at present. Bodily pain, imprisonment, indigence, accidents, diseases, disappointment, calumny, loss of friends, and numberless others of the 'ills that flesh is heir to,' will always be afflictive to the best; and those who have reached the highest elevation of piety and virtue will still, under such afflictions, be very far from the enjoyment of perfect happiness. In the main principle, however, that we must look chiefly to ourselves for our felicity, the philosophers were perfectly right; and when we add to this the sanctifying belief that we owe all we have and all we are to the great Creator, and that to Him through Jesus Christ we are indebted for the inestimable blessings secured to us by the Christian religion, we have laid a just foundation for that elevation of soul, which, although it cannot destroy entirely the evils which surround us, tends more and more to lessen their force, and is the commencement of that state of pure and spiritual happiness which we hope will be perfected in the world to come."—Pp. 220—223.

A few particular criticisms and critical opinions maintained in this book may be here enumerated.

Mr. Long holds that Judas "did not anticipate the death of Jesus as the result of his treachery;" "and that his object in delivering up his Master to his enemies was that he might exert his miraculous powers for his deliverance and immediately establish his kingdom." (P. 72.)

His explanation of the presidency of James the Less over the council of the apostles at Jerusalem, is thoughtful, and to us satisfactory and beautiful:

"I will now endeavour to discover why Peter was thus, as it were, deposed from his pre-eminence among the apostles, and James advanced to preside in their council in his stead; and I think a very satisfactory reason may easily be found. Lardner quotes the following passage from Eusebius:—'Clement, in his sixth book of his Institutions, writes after this manner: that after the Lord's ascension, Peter, and James,

and John, though they had been favoured by the Lord above the rest, did not contend for honour, but chose James the Just to be bishop of Jerusalem.' Considering the peculiar favour shown by our Saviour to Peter, James, and John, it is impossible that they should not, after his ascension, have been held in higher estimation than the other apostles. To Peter the first place would be assigned, as he had been accustomed uniformly to take the lead, and he had been particularly charged by Christ, after his resurrection, to feed his sheep and his lambs; in other words, to instruct his disciples in religion. Peter was a man of great activity and energy of character. Such persons are the natural leaders of the rest of the world; and it can hardly be called ambition that they desire to be so. All men, even the best, are pleased by being distinguished above others; and it is scarcely possible to suppose that Peter did not wish to retain the influence, and exercise the authority to which he had been accustomed. With respect to James and John, they had shown that they desired power and distinction by the request made by them to Jesus that they might sit on his right hand and his left in his kingdom. How then are we to account for these three distinguished apostles yielding precedence to one who does not appear to have ever been particularly distinguished by their Master? I see but one solution; which, however, is quite satisfactory. If the great object of the apostles was to establish Christianity, and if their desire to do so was so strong as to overcome all personal regards to their own interest or ambition, a satisfactory solution of the difficulty is afforded. The world is always ready to suggest some selfish motives for the actions of all who endeavour to promote reformation of whatever kind. Peter, James, and John had been greatly distinguished by Jesus Christ; and if the Christian community had ranged itself under the banner of either of them, it might have led to a plausible charge of these apostles imposing upon the world a system of religious faith and practice for the purpose of establishing their own authority. That the election of James to the presidency was made for this reason seems to me highly probable; and there is no difficulty in supposing that it was a recommendation of him that was the cousin of our Lord."—Pp. 164, 165.

Of Paul he thus speaks:

"St. Paul was in every respect a great man. All the intellectual and moral elements of his character were on a large scale. Accurate judgment and vigorous power of reasoning were united in him with a most fertile imagination and the intensest feeling. Fervent piety to his Maker was combined with benevolence in the highest degree to his fellow-creatures. Not the slightest indication of an approach to selfishness is to be found in any part of his history or his writings. Conscience reigned supreme throughout his whole life; as much in the persecutor Saul as in the zealous and indefatigable apostle Paul. He was led to persecute the Christians, not by those malignant feelings which we are perhaps too apt to impute to persecutors, but by a mistaken sense of duty. His moral and religious elevation gives a tinge to all his writings, and carries him on in a strain of imaginative and impassioned eloquence, which makes it often difficult even for an attentive reader to follow the course of his reasoning, and to perceive the connexion of the different parts of his discourse. I must introduce here the admirable remarks of Locke on the epistles of St. Paul."—P. 192.

There are admirable remarks on the question of apostolical succession (p. 182); on the government of the primitive church, which was plainly congregational (p. 186); and on the relation of the clergy and laity, or rather the teachers and the taught, and the meaning of the words bishops and elders (pp. 187 and 212). We are glad to see (pp. 135 and 215) the rare merits of Grotius as a Scripture commentator avowed as they deserve to be by a layman justly proud of such a layman's example; for we believe what Doddridge said of Grotius is still true, that he "has done more to illustrate the inspired writings by what is called profane learning, than almost all the commentators together." There is not one important observation in a hundred even now written or spoken in illustration of Scripture, but is to be found in old Grotius. So diligent and faithful was he.

Mr. Long objects, in a manner which seems to us fanciful, to the customary use of one at least of the terms "rewards and punishments" in reference to the future state:

"The future world is constantly represented as a state of rewards and punishments. This language is indeed, as to one branch of the subject, erroneous and reprehensible. As all we have is from God, as all our powers mental and corporeal are his gifts, as we owe to him our existence, which if we are not wanting to ourselves will be an unspeakable blessing, we can, under no circumstances, be entitled to claim a reward from him: all the enjoyment we can ever have in this world or in that which is to come, can properly be considered in no other light than as derived from his bounty; and if he should confer upon us the happiness of the next world, as a consequence of our obedience to his holy will here, it will be a gift, and not, in strict propriety of language, a reward. It is probable, however, that no one has ever believed in a future state, without also connecting with that belief an expectation that our condition in the next world will depend on what we have done in this."—P. 29.

So (p. 59):

"What is to be collected from this passage is, that the condition of the human race in the world to come will depend on their character here below. In the language usually applied to this subject, virtue will be rewarded, and vice punished. In more correct terms, God will of his goodness confer happiness in the world to come on those who have been obedient to his holy will, and will punish the transgressors of his law."

We strive in vain to appreciate the objection and the proposed amendment of phraseology. It seems to us a distinction without a difference. *Reward* seems to us the exact correlative to *punishment;* it is only the idea of *claiming* the former that seems to require rebuke at our author's hands.

The fourth Part of the book is intitled, "The Progress, Present State, and Future Prospects of the Christian Religion." The thing most deserving of note here is Mr. Long's avowal of his opinion in favour of the establishment of religious worship by

the secular power. Whatever any reader may think of his conclusion, all liberal theologians must approve the temperate and truthful spirit in which it is arrived at. General Councils receive their meed of reprobation, and the right of private judgment is thoroughly vindicated. The inconsistent claims of the Church of England to authority in matters of faith, while asserting the sufficiency of Scripture, are well exposed. But the author maintains (p. 295),

"1, that there should be a body of men set apart and properly educated for the office of religious teachers; 2, that they should be provided with a competency; 3, that they should be placed in circumstances favourable to the impartial study of the Scriptures, and to the acquisition of such knowledge as may enable them to discharge efficiently the duties of Christian instruction."

Mr. Long's State Church would manifestly be very different in its Articles and Liturgy from the existing Establishment. It would *comprehend* the largest possible number of Christians who do not object to an establishment *per se*, and would impose no disabilities on "voluntaries" dissenting from its communion, beyond the necessary one of paying for their separate offices of worship. The establishment of religion which he advocates is that ideal Church which some, calling themselves Broad Churchmen, also theoretically advocate as their plea for continued fellowship with an essentially narrow Church; while Mr. Long, more consistently, is a Dissenter against his will *until* such a broad Church shall be formed. He does not define so clearly as we should wish the suggested doctrines and liturgy of such a Church, nor the authority (secular of course) from which they should emanate. Nor do we see quite clearly with him "that some great change in ecclesiastical affairs must take place at no great distance of time" (p. 329). We wish it may, for the sake of general sincerity and liberality, for these two cannot go together in the Church of England as at present constituted; yet there is no doubt that the Church, however constituted theologically, will always continue its hold upon the multitudes of mere conformists, as well as upon those who invest it with a strong national and religious sentiment. Thoughtful clergymen and laymen are alike uneasy at present; but every order and degree of constituted authority in the Church appears afraid to move one step towards improvement, because well aware that any effort in any direction would excite bigoted opposition in some other. Fifty and sixty years ago, the Broad Church, clergy and laity (then called Latitudinarians), made many honest and persevering efforts, though ineffectually, for greater liberty within the Church; and some few, like Lindsey, despairing of relief, left the Church. But now, Broad Churchmen have devised new modes of reconciling doubt or disbelief with continued profession, through interpretations of the Creeds and Articles as "non-natural" as any

adopted by the jesuitry of the Puseyite section. That such men as Arnold, Maurice, Kingsley, Robertson, Jowett, Macnaught, should have exercised so much free thought in defiance of their Articles and Creeds, and been permitted to retain their position in the Church, seems to shew that no great change is to be expected in its constitution, while it painfully impresses us with the dishonour and essential immorality which are thus cherished in the very bosom of the Church. A Church such as Mr. Long advocates might indeed be defended as expressly giving latitude for these free thinkers within its communion; but this free thinking within the bosom of the Church of England, as constituted on the very principle of limiting and bounding individual opinion, is, in our apprehension of the morality of opinion, essentially immoral. And our worst charge against the Church-of-England-ism of the present day is, not its intolerance, not its absurd or illiberal doctrines, but its disbelief in its own standards, its unfaithfulness to its avowed principles, and its unwillingness or inability to adapt its formularies to its own altered and diversified beliefs. A Church which is founded upon doctrinal unity, yet exhibits such diversity (and consequent disbelief on some hands at least) as now prevails among the English clergy, is a national immorality. We know not how the needful change is to come. Those whom it concerns most nearly, despair or else care not. The Maurices and Jowetts destroy our hope that thoughtful clergymen will promote it. If the laity should at length insist upon it, we shall then witness a new and sadly instructive parallel to the expulsion and suppression of the Jesuits—the World teaching the Church good morals!

EARLY DECLARATION FOR LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE.

I READ that a Bishop of Rome would have constrained a Turkish Emperor to the Christian faith, unto whom the Emperor answered, "I believe that Christ was an excellent prophet, but he did never, so far as I can understand, command that men should with the power of weapons be constrained to believe his law; and verily I also do force no man to believe Mahomet's law." Also I read that Jews, Christians and Turks, are tolerated in Constantinople, and yet are peaceable, though so contrary the one to the other.

If this be so, how much more ought Christians not to force one another to religion? And how much more ought Christians to tolerate Christians, when as the Turks do tolerate them? Shall we be less merciful than the Turks? Or shall we learn the Turks to persecute Christians? It is not only unmerciful, but unnatural and abominable, yea, monstrous, for one Christian to vex and destroy another for difference and questions of religion.—*Religious Peace, a Plea for Liberty of Conscience*, 1614. Republished, 1846, in Tracts on Liberty of Conscience and Persecution, edited for the Hanserd Knollys Society.

CORRESPONDENCE.

DR. CHANNING'S LATEST RELIGIOUS OPINIONS.

Sir,

It has been reported, and no small use has been made of the report by several influential Trinitarian clergymen in their pulpits, that the late excellent and eminent Dr. Channing within a short period of his decease became an avowed believer in the popular doctrine of the Trinity and its concomitant dogmas. Now if such be a fact, no blame can be attached either to Rev. Mr. Fiske, of St. John's Wood, or any other clergyman, for promulgating it. If it be a falsehood, no terms can be applied too despicable or base for such very reprehensible conduct.

Correct information one way or the other will be acceptable to

An Old Subscriber.

London, June 30, 1856.

The prevalence of the report to which our correspondent alludes is, we imagine, attributable to the flagrant misstatement by Dr. Alexander, in the Life of Channing contained in the new edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica. We have already exposed the misrepresentations in this matter by Dr. Alexander (C.R., N.S., Vol. X. pp. 752, 753), and we need scarcely remind our readers of the masterly treatment of the subject by Rev. John Gordon in his "Letter to the Subscribers to the Eighth Edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica," &c. But that our correspondent and others exposed to orthodox misstatements may know how unscrupulous some theologians and pulpit orators are, we extract from the Memoir of Dr. Channing the passage describing his death, and the appended note of his nephew and biographer respecting the false report of a change having taken place in the theological opinions of Dr. Channing:

"On Sunday, October 2nd (1842), as he heard the bells ring, he said to us, 'Now go to church.' 'It is a part of true religion, dear Sir, to nurse the sick and aid our friends.' 'True,' he replied, 'you may stay.' He wished us to read to him the New Testament. 'From what part?' 'From the Sermon on the Mount.' As we closed the Lord's Prayer, he looked up with a most expressive smile, and said, 'That will do now; I find that I am too much fatigued to hear more. I take comfort, *O the greatest comfort*, from these words. They are full of the divinest spirit of our religion.'

"In the afternoon he spoke very earnestly, but in a hollow whisper. I bent forward; but the only words I could distinctly hear were, 'I have received many messages from the Spirit.'

"As the day declined, his countenance fell, and he grew fainter and fainter. With our aid, he turned himself towards the window, which looked over valleys and wooded summits to the east. We drew back the curtains, and the light fell upon his face. The sun had just set, and the clouds and sky were bright with gold and crimson. He breathed more and more gently, and without a struggle or a sigh the body fell asleep. We knew not when the spirit passed."—Memoirs of William Ellery Channing, Vol. III. pp. 492, 493.

Note.—"I feel as if it were insulting the memory of my uncle to refer, even, to the assertion, that on his death-bed he changed his opinions. But the urgency of many correspondents induces me here to say, once for all, that there was *no foundation whatever* for such a rumour. Weakness, the violence of fever, and the earnest desire for his restoration, prevented conversation on his part and ours. But every word, act, look, shewed us how perfect was his peace. Every word that he is known to have spoken, indicating his own

religious opinions and feelings, is recorded on the preceding pages. This distinct statement should for ever put an end to the calumny referred to, among all honest men. W. H. C."—Notes, p. 499.

Nothing need be added to this explicit statement; but to prevent the supposition that any new evidence arose in the year 1854 to justify Dr. Alexander's gross misstatement of facts, we may remind our readers that several times during his stay in England, Mr. W. H. Channing has publicly and very emphatically repeated the statement that no ground whatever exists for the report, and has commissioned many Unitarian friends to contradict, rebuke, and if possible put down the calumny. A fable convenient to evangelical pulpits and platforms has, we know, a long lease, however untrue and ridiculous it may be. But this particular fable is so easily exposed, and its repeated use is so liable to lead people to read Channing's works,—a somewhat dangerous practice in quarters where "orthodoxy" is valued more than truth and charity,—that we venture to anticipate that the fiction will soon and for ever disappear.—Ed. C. R.

SOUTHEY'S LETTERS—TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE.

Sir,

In the letters of Southey mentioned in the last number of the Reformer, pp. 491, 492, are some statements which I think must be erroneous. Speaking of Hayley's autobiography, Southey says, "When he died at last, and all which it would have been monstrous to publish was by Dr. Johnson's interference cut out from the manuscript, the book never paid the mere cost of publication."

Now Dr. Johnson died Dec. 13, 1785, and though I cannot find the date of Hayley's death, yet it must have been at least twenty years later; for Cowper, whose Life and Letters Hayley published, died April 25, 1800.

Again, Southey says that the author of "Shibboleth," which was printed in 1671, "courted Cromwell's notice by attempting to depreciate the authorized English Version, at a time when Parliament had ordered a Bill to be brought in for a new translation, as a kind of counterbalance on the part of the Republican theologians to Walton's Polyglot."

Now Walton's Polyglot was printed in 1657. The Protector's government allowed him to import paper exempt from duty. In the first Preface to this work, Dr. Walton acknowledged his obligations to the Protector for his patronage; but after the Restoration several alterations were made in this Preface, and the paragraph in which he acknowledges his obligations to the Protector is suppressed, and another, transferring his respects to Charles II., is introduced in its room.

In Mr. Heywood's speech in favour of a revision of the Common Version of the Bible, he mentioned the Geneva translation, as if that had been the one in use in the reign of Elizabeth. Now this is a mistake. That version was *not* liked by Elizabeth, and the one in use in her reign was one commonly called the Bishop's Bible, because principally the work of Bishop Parker. The translation of the book of Psalms

in this Bible, is the one still preserved in the Book of Common Prayer. And though our present version is in many respects an improved one, yet there are several instances in which the older version was decidedly the best. Thus in Matthew v. 29, 30, the older version is, "If thy right eye *cause* thee to offend;" "If thy right hand *make* thee offend." And again, ch. xviii. 8, 9, "If thine hand or thy foot *cause* thee to offend;" "If thine eye *cause* thee to offend." And Mark ix. 43—47, "If thine hand, foot, eye, *cause* thee to offend." In all these instances a comparison with our present version will at once shew that King James's translators altered the older version for the worse, and that a new revision of their translation would be desirable. Again, John i. 3, 4, is translated in the Bishop's Bible, "All things were made by *it*, and without *it* was made nothing that was made. In *it* was life, and the life was the light of men." This surely must be acknowledged by all, who consider the difference between Greek and English in the gender of Logos or the Word, to be the correct translation.

If you think the above remarks will shew the desirableness of a revision of our Common Version, they are at your service.

T. C. Holland.

WHY ENGLAND DOES NOT LOVE POPERY.

A nation has not the means of examining into the details of facts; and when a feeling is strong enough to take possession of it, that feeling will be inconsistent with the calmness and impartiality requisite for critical and judicial inquiries. Yet the feeling may on the whole be righteous, may have adequate causes, may bear witness that *vox populi* is not seldom an expression, though a rude and boisterous one, for *vox Dei*. In the present instance there unquestionably are certain huge facts, staring out from the surface of history, which the English mind, according to the measure of its cultivation, would point to in warrant of its prejudice. It would point to the Marian persecutions, to the fires in Smithfield, to the attacks on the English Crown and State by the Spanish Armada and the Gunpowder Plot, to the ignominious reign of King John, to the monstrous claim of a right to depose sovereigns and to absolve subjects from their allegiance. These and other like recollections have become mixed up with the historical traditions, with the ancestral faith of the English people: similar records from foreign countries have been combined with them,—the persecutions of the Waldenses,—

> "the slaughtered saints, whose bones
> Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold,
> Even they who kept God's truth so pure of old,"—

the massacre of St. Bartholomew,—the murder of Henry the Third and Henry the Fourth,—the crimes of the Inquisition: and we have not yet allowed the sophist's wand to transmute all these evils and crimes before our eyes into blessings and acts of virtue.—*Archdeacon Hare's Contest with Rome.*

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Memoirs of the Life and Writings of James Montgomery, including Selections from his Correspondence, Remains in Prose and Verse, and Conversations on various Subjects. By John Holland and James Everett. Vols. V. VI. and VII. London—Longmans. 1856.

The early volumes of this ponderous biography (reviewed in C. R., Vol. XI. 133, 752) brought down the life of the good Sheffield Poet to the year 1830. Although he was permitted to live twenty-four years after this date, the events that marked his declining years were few and unimportant, and might with advantage have been compressed into one of the three volumes now before us. He published in the summer of 1831, the Journal of Voyages and Travels of Messrs. Tyerman and Bennet, who had been deputed by the London Missionary Society to visit their various stations in the South-Sea Islands, China, India, &c. The task cost Montgomery great labour, for he found it necessary to re-compose the whole work, which extended to more than a thousand pages. It did not receive the amount of public attention which might have been expected, chiefly from its most interesting details having been anticipated by Mr. Ellis's elaborate and admirable Polynesian Researches. It was in this year that Montgomery proved to the public that his muse had yet lost nothing of her vigour, by publishing a short but beautiful poem entitled "Lord Falkland's Dream."

> "Falkland, the plume of England's chivalry,
> The just, the brave, the generous and the free."

The poet happily associates with the patriot Lord the shade of Chaucer. Speenham woods, nigh to Newbury (where the battle was fought in which Falkland fell) were said to have been the property and residence of Chaucer. The opening lines of this poem are equally just and poetical:

> "War, civil war, was raging like a flood,
> England lay weltering in her children's blood;
> Brother with brother waged unnatural strife;
> Sever'd were all the charities of life:
> Two passions—virtues they assumed to be—
> Virtues they *were*—romantic loyalty,
> And stern, unyielding patriotism, possess'd
> Divided empire in the nation's breast;
> As though two hearts might in one body reign,
> And urge conflicting streams from vein to vein.
> On either side the noblest spirits fought,
> And highest deeds on either side were wrought:
> Hampden in battle yesterday hath bled,
> Falkland to-morrow joins the immortal dead;
> The one for freedom perish'd—not in vain;
> The other falls—a courtier without stain."—Works, III. 244.

In 1833, Montgomery published a volume of Lectures on Poetry and General Literature. If the public appeared somewhat less eager to read than they had previously been to hear these judicious and able essays, it may be in part accounted for by the interest which a popular audience feels in beholding the features and person, and hearing the eloquent tones, of a distinguished man. It was not creditable to Montgomery's

townsmen that from them this volume received little or no patronage. This strange neglect not unnaturally wounded the poet, who, remembering the high praise these lectures had received when delivered before Sheffield audiences, bethought himself that the town was more chary of its coin than its commendation, and was chiefly willing to praise when it cost nothing. Two years after, he prepared for the Cabinet Cyclopædia, Lives of Ariosto, Dante and Tasso,—compositions in which, while he awarded to genius his admiration, he did not forget to make the abatements and qualifications which Christian morality demanded. Literary biography does not contain many finer instances of stern and just rebuke than his remarks on the wanton muse of Ariosto's Satires.

Among the thousand hearts that beat with joyful sympathy in Great Britain and her West-Indian colonies on the great act of Emancipation which took effect on the 1st of August, 1834, none were more attuned to the occasion than that of James Montgomery. His muse was effectively invoked, and produced five Abolition Songs which served to give utterance to the emotions of many assemblies of Christian men and women on that happy and memorable day. In an address which he delivered on the evening of the Birthday of West-Indian Liberty, he thus alluded to the admission, so fatal to themselves, by the owners of slaves, that Slavery and Christianity could not exist together, and said,

> "That very sentiment was the death-knell of Slavery; from the moment that expression was uttered, it was no longer a question, in heaven or upon earth, whether or not slavery should perish. Slavery, so far as Great Britain is concerned, has perished; and from this day another slave destined for our colonies shall never cross that ocean, from whose mysterious depths hundreds, and probably thousands, who have been thrown overboard during the horrible 'middle passage,' shall rise up at the last trump, perhaps crying for mercy upon those who shewed no mercy to the victims of their cupidity and their cruelty."—V. 104.

The voice of Montgomery's countrymen gratefully approved of the pension of £150 per annum which was conferred upon him in 1835, in reward for his literary merit. This graceful and well-deserved tribute to the virtues and talents of a good citizen and a writer pure without a stain, was one of the last acts before his then retirement from office of the late Sir Robert Peel. The associates of Montgomery in this acceptable compliment were Professor Airey, Mrs. Somerville, Sharon Turner and Robert Southey.

Early in the year 1836, he visited Manchester, to deliver a course of lectures before the Royal Institution. The vicinity to his old partner and friend Mr. Benjamin Naylor, led to an exchange of letters, in which Montgomery says that he never can forget how much, under Providence, he was indebted to Mr. N. for confidence reposed in early life, when the latter "hardly knew him, and when, in truth, he (Montgomery) hardly knew himself." The grateful poet fervently adds, "May the Giver of all good reward you both in time and in eternity for this!" It had been well if in their early volumes the biographers of the poet had been animated by the same spirit when referring to Mr. Naylor.—His next literary work was the "Christian Correspondent," being a Selection of Letters illustrative of Holy Living and Dying, with a Preliminary Essay, characterized by Montgomery's usual delicacy of thought and simple beauty of expression. His coadjutor in the selection of the Letters was

Henry Rogers, whose name has since become honourably entwined with the better religious literature of the age. The volumes of the "Christian Correspondent" led by an unconscious suggestion to the republication of Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs, edited by Mr. Bickersteth.

The enjoyment by the town of Sheffield of the elective franchise, consequent on the Reform Act, led once or twice to the consideration of the question whether James Montgomery ought not to be sent to Parliament as one of its representatives. The practical difficulty was, that having swerved from the popular politics of his early days and embraced a timid political Conservatism, his sympathies and those of the electors were not at one. Looking simply at the prospects of immediate success, his friends acted prudently in withholding his name in 1837, and previously in 1832. If returned, there is also good reason for doubting whether he would have added to his public reputation by entering Parliament. For political conflict he was unfitted by habit and temperament, and a sexagenarian is too old to learn the ways and gain the *genius loci* of the House of Commons.

In 1838, Montgomery's kind and sensitive heart was pierced with deep sorrow through the painful illness and death of Miss Gales, the lady who, though "alien in blood," had been his "sister in soul" and "beloved companion" more than forty years, and never in all that time, he was enabled to say, did he receive from her one unkind word.

Another memento of human frailty affected him in 1841, when his brother Ignatius, a minister amongst the Moravians, died at Ockbrook. He was buried at the Moravian cemetery there, amidst, as the poet remarked, the continuous melody of the lark sweetly singing overhead, and the finches doing the same in the trees around.

The remaining years of Montgomery's life were diversified by the delivery of lectures in Bristol and other principal towns of Great Britain, and by missionary tours, in which his Christian and benevolent heart ever felt a warm interest. He sometimes gave a lecture nearer home; thus in 1840 he read before the Sheffield Literary and Philosophical Society a lecture on the "Imperfectness of the Materials of History," the moral deducible from which was not so much to shake confidence in the credibility of history, as to teach the supreme importance of truth even in the smallest things. In 1841, he visited Scotland, and, in the following year, Ireland, being received in both countries in a manner befitting his high character. In 1851, he watched with deep interest the progress of the Great Exhibition, and to the astonishment of his friends, though an octogenarian, went up to London to pay one visit to the Crystal Palace, and happily quoted the lines of the old poet Hawes or Lydgate—

> "Methought that I was
> Ravyshed in spyrite into a Temple of Glass
> I ne wist how."

James Montgomery was happily spared that entire solitude which is sometimes the penalty of great age. He had troops of friends ever ready to pay him respect, and his simple domestic establishment was watched over to the end by one survivor (Sarah Gales) of the amiable sisters who had been to him in weal and woe untiring friends. He was also spared the trial of a long sickness. The thread of life was worn very thin and was soon snapped. He had been as well as usual throughout the week

which ended on the 29th of April. At the hour of family prayer he was restless, but not apparently ill. He declined his usual office of reading the Scriptures, handing the Bible to Miss Gales. He listened to her reading, and then, though with some tremor of voice, poured forth a prayer with a peculiar pathos. During the night he was attacked with illness, which he thought was paralytic in its character. He rallied slightly; but early in the afternoon of that Sabbath day his spirit gently passed away, while his friend was sitting by his bedside and watching him apparently in sleep. His remains were not permitted to be interred in the secluded churchyard of Eckington, where a few years before he had buried the younger of the good sisters, but were claimed by his townsmen and honoured by a public funeral in the Sheffield cemetery, amidst demonstrations of respect never surpassed in Sheffield. There was a huge mass of mourners congregated on the occasion, and at the close of the burial service the choir and school children sang his own fine hymn, composed in 1822 for Dr. Owen's funeral, the Secretary of the Bible Society,—

> "Go to the grave; though like a fallen tree,
> At once with verdure, flowers and fruitage crown'd," &c.

Amongst the illustrations of the last volume of these Memoirs is an engraving of a monument, proposed to be erected over the grave, from the design of Mr. Bell, the sculptor. The monument is to be surmounted by a statue of the poet, and round its base are to be four emblematic figures, viz. Piety, Poetry, Benevolence and Patriotism. It is not honourable to Sheffield that the scheme flags. The design is admired, but the public is not willing to pay for it.

In a brief essay, in which Mr. Holland sums up the character of his friend, it is admitted that there prevailed in Montgomery's mind "a tone of spiritual depression." He offers two explanations of this "psychological phenomenon." The first is, that he lacked, either in amount or in kind, faith in the Atonement, by which he could appropriate to himself the merits of Christ as his Saviour; and the second is, that his mind was by its physical organization deep and solemn, rather than bright and joyous. In respect to the first solution, Mr. Holland admits that many really good people, failing in their experience of the Atonement, "walk all their lives in spiritual doubt, obscurity and distrust, in the twilight instead of the sunshine of gospel privilege." That this is true we believe—true, too, of some of the purest, gentlest and most amiable of human beings; such, for instance, as William Cowper and James Montgomery. But if it be true, how sadly does it proclaim the defectiveness of what is called evangelical religion, and its incapacity to supply in some profoundly interesting cases that peace and hope which ought to be the sure fruit of sincere religion! Had Montgomery's mind been possessed by a bright, hopeful and cheerful system of theology, there would have been an unfailing resource against that constitutional melancholy which clouded his daily path. On the other hand, the natural gloom of his spirit will abundantly account for his turning away from those more cheerful views to which in his early days he partially listened. Had he given himself up to them with that intensity of thought and feeling which he yielded to the rugged Calvinism of the Moravian Church, his heart might have felt more at peace with itself, and he would have walked in light rather than darkness to the end of his pil-

grimage. We know of nothing equal in moral power to the pure gospel of Jesus Christ, revealing God in all the glory of his paternal goodness. It is full of the sweetest and gentlest influences on the soul, especially when crushed by calamity or overcast by constitutional depression. We record here the result of actual observation. We have known Unitarians who have had to do battle with the spirit of *fear which hath torment.* They have clung in faith and love to the simple gospel of Christ, and they have won a happy victory. The clouds have broken and passed away, and they have walked in serenity, if not in joy, to the end.

We grieve to think that the name of the good and gentle James Montgomery must be added to the long list of those into whose hearts the iron of Calvinism hath entered. God, their kind Father, will forgive all their doubts, and they will enjoy an eternity of sunshine. We are unwilling to part with the religious character of so good a man with expressions not of sympathy and love. We gladly, therefore, extract Mr. Holland's testimony to one of his characteristics, his title to which we do not question:

"One of the most remarkable and influential peculiarities of Montgomery's religious character under almost every aspect, was an unaffected catholicity. We have personally known several, and have read of many more, good men, of various denominations, who have practically interpreted the apostolic injunction to 'love the brotherhood' in a wider sense than as only including some particular church; but our late revered friend was, with the least of religious indifference, the most *unsectarian* Christian we ever knew."—VII. 281, 282.

One word as to the biographers, or rather the biographer, for to Mr. John Holland we owe the long series of volumes. We have seven volumes where two would have amply answered the purpose. The public is wronged by the loss of time and money. The memory of Montgomery is wronged. He had nothing of the spirit of a book-maker. Many will never read a biography thus mercilessly wiredrawn. Some who do read, will resent the trifling materials which form so large a part of the work, and will associate with the name of Montgomery the tediousness which belongs entirely to his biographer. The only thing on which we can congratulate the lovers of James Montgomery's fame is, that, badly as the Memoir has been put together, it has not been able to obliterate the sterling sense, the pure literary feeling, and the noble personal character, of its subject.

Report addressed to the Committee of the Liverpool Domestic Mission Society, by their Minister to the Poor, and presented at the Nineteenth Annual General Meeting of the Society. 12mo. Pp. 47. London—Whitfield. 1856.

So very successful has been Mr. Bishop's missionary work in Liverpool, and so deeply interesting have been the annual Reports which he has given us of his Christian labours in that field, that we feel no little regret to think that his work there is closed, and that this is the last *Liverpool* Report we are to receive from him. He will carry with him to Manchester, and to his labours both in the Mission and the training school for missionaries, earnest wishes for his continued success. His gentle and affectionate style of teaching appears to have wrought wonders on the sons and daughters of misery and vice amongst whom he

has laboured. Such teaching is in perfect accordance with—nay, it is the direct result of, the benignant and merciful theological views held by Unitarian Christians. Its success is the best answer that can be given to those who scoff at our opinions as ineffectual and incapable of working to salvation.

Mr. Bishop has proved by the results of his Mission the correctness of the theory with which he set out, that visiting is an essential part of the missionary's labour. During the past year he has paid 10,000 visits to the homes of the poor, and has attended to about 1600 applications at his own house, and 2500 at the Mission-house.

There has been collected for the Provident Society in connection with the Mission during the year £1193, much of which would have been improvidently squandered but for this philanthropic organization. Mr. Bishop points out with much practical wisdom the difficulties that lie in the way of improving and elevating the ignorant and debased:

"There are some persons who can never make acceptable and useful visitors to the poor. They want to set everything right all at once. They see a house in confusion—the hearth covered with a heap of ashes—the chairs disarranged and occupied with rags and dirty clothes—the table and dresser all littered with things out of their places—the brush lying in the middle of the floor—children whose hair is all bristling like porcupine's quills, and whose features are concealed with layers of dirt, playing about and often engaged in angry contentions with each other—the mother pursuing her work slatternly and slipshod, and with the nervous irritability of her temper increased tenfold by all this dirt and confusion—there are visitors who see all this, and begin at once to lecture the house-wife on her want of order; and to shew how this thing might be improved, and how that annoyance might be got rid of, forgetting that they are in the house of another in the capacity of visitors, and that these suggestions of friendship can only be rightly offered—and then with much caution and tenderness—when friendly relationships have been established, and the right to speak on such matters instinctively felt and acknowledged. In regard to all these things, there is a time to speak and a time to be silent, and the best intentions often produce nothing but disappointment from an impatient desire to sweep all errors away by one strong and sudden effort."—Pp. 31, 32.

We might select from this admirable Report, which does equal credit to Mr. Bishop's judgment and his benevolence, many interesting passages. We have room only for the following:

"For years I have been in the habit of visiting a mean and poor cellar where everything indicates extreme poverty. It is so low that I cannot stand upright within it. In that narrow cell—more like a grave for the dead than an abode for the living—there dwelt for nearly forty years a worthy and aged couple. The man earned a few shillings weekly by shoe-mending, but his wife was disabled and confined to her chair by the side of the few sparks that passed for a fire, from the effects of a fall that occurred six years ago. They had no relief from the parish, and their privations must have been very great and continuous. Yet I never heard a word of complaint, at least from the man, in that poor and lowly dwelling, but, on the contrary, only happy, hearty words of Christian contentment. The light of day could scarcely penetrate it, but it was always bright with the sunshine of hope and love; and if ever I felt depressed, a visit to that cellar would invariably rebuke my fears and give an impetus to all my more hopeful feelings. Death has lately entered this home and borne away the invalid, but still the same atmosphere of faith spreads its freshness there, and though the old man's heart now lingers among the tombs, he yet speaks in the same cheerful spirit of trust, as one who has

indeed learnt to look with love upon the cross, with hope upon the grave, and with faith upon the Gospel."—Pp. 4, 5,

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Religious Truths and Duties; the Substance of a Course of Sunday-Evening Lectures, delivered in Bury in the Winter 1854-55. By John Wright, B.A. Pp. 149. London—Whitfield.

This volume contains twelve discourses on some of the most important truths of religion, natural and revealed. Each subject is discussed briefly and plainly, but in a comprehensive mode and in a truly evangelical spirit. We have seldom read a volume with which we more entirely agree. The earnestness of spirit which pervades it will command the sympathy of every religious reader. It will be a useful work to place in the hands of a religious inquirer, because, while it explains Unitarian theology, it illustrates and enforces the religiousness of heart and life which is the great result to which pure theology should lead.

A Second Letter to the Rev. Canon Stowell, on the Sabbath Question. By a Working Man. 12mo. Pp. 18. London—Whitfield.

This "Working Man" has shewn in both his Letters, but especially in this second epistle, not merely mother-wit, but considerable knowledge on the subject before him. The arch-Pharisee to whom he addresses himself receives little mercy at his hands; but when we re-cast his public history, we cannot see that he deserves any. Here is a sample, quite characteristic of the taste and humour of one of the better sort of Lancashire operatives:

"Do you know, Sir, I almost think, if you'd been i' th' Park, the other Sunday, when th' band struck up 'The heavens are telling the glory of God,' and th' word passed round what it was, and you'd seen those thousand up-turned faces, with a reverent look on many o' them, you'd not ha' been so hard upo' th' music; but, maybe, ha' thought, like John Milton, it was well

> 'divine sounds to employ,
> Dead things with inbreathed sense able to pierce,
> And to our high-raised phantasy present
> That undisturbed song of pure concent,
> Aye sung before the sapphire-coloured throne
> To Him that sits thereon,
> With saintly shout, and solemn jubilee;
> Where the bright Seraphim, in burning row,
> Their loud up-lifted angel trumpets blow;
> And the Cherubic host, in thousand quires,
> Touch their immortal harps of golden wires.'

"I own I'm fond o' bands; but I hope you'll not set me down as utterly abandoned, on account of what I'm going to say. No offence, but it does appear to me, that i' certain moods some grand master like Handel, or Haydn, or Beethoven, may be just as much a minister of God, and speak with as holy power to the soul, as even a Reverend Canon. I only know that many a time, when I've maybe been crossed and made a bit cranky and sullen, a snatch o' sweet music, if it was but from a barrel-organ, has been to me what David's harp was to the dark spirit of Saul, and helped to put me i' better tune, when a sermon might ha' chanced only to put me more out. And I'm not so sure if you'll let me force Scripture a bit—not nearly so much as you're i' th' habit o' doing—but what I could make it favour Sunday bands. For I find 'blowing of trumpets' several times commanded,

not only on 'days of gladness,' but on 'solemn days' and 'Sabbaths.' So that trumpets, at any rate, can't be so bad. And don't you think, Sir, a *Jew's-harp* might take the fancy of yourself and brethren? I'd go a good way, that I would, to hear you play upon it."—Pp. 11, 12.

Unitarian Views of Christian Doctrine Affirmative and Practical. A Sermon preached in Little Portland-Street Chapel, London, on Wednesday, May 14, 1856, *being the Anniversary Meeting of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association.* By W. J. Odgers. 12mo. Pp. 24. London—Whitfield.

The publication of this sermon will justify the good opinion expressed by those who heard it. It is full of sterling sense, well conceived and plainly uttered. Take as a sample the way in which the preacher meets that class of men who say they want religion, not theology—that they will try to make men good, and care nothing about their opinions:

"To this we reply, that we wish to avoid the too common error of mistaking a part of religion for the whole, that philanthropy does not include all goodness, and that opinions do affect a man's piety and virtue. If opinions are of no importance, then truth is worthless. But what is all action but the result of opinion? We do not for a moment lose sight of the necessary distinction between theology and religion. We acknowledge that the science is of very little value without the sentiment; but it does not follow that the correctness of the science has nothing to do with the purity of the sentiment. We readily acknowledge that men may be pious and upright, sincere and generous, although differing widely from each other in theological opinion. But it does not follow that a man's opinions have therefore no influence on his life. A man may be a good husband, a good father, a worthy citizen, a sincere friend, although a Jew or a Mahometan. But shall we, therefore, say that Christianity is a mere speculative question, of no moral value or practical importance?"—P. 18.

Christ's Dominion over the Sabbath asserted. A Discourse on Mark ii. 27, 28. By J. Scott Porter. 8vo. Pp. 32. Belfast—Greer. London—Whitfield.

This is a fine, manly, outspoken defence of Scripture views of the Lord's-day as distinguished from the Jewish Sabbath, and of religious liberty against Sabbatic despotism. Mr. Porter's defence of Sunday music and other innocent recreations for the people, is as thorough as it is timely. It is well that here and there in the Church of England, and generally in our own denomination, men are found who dare to speak the truth on this subject, in despite of the noisy clamour of the "religious world." If it were not so, the mass of the people would come to regard religion as the enemy of their natural rights and of every innocent pleasure.

The Soul's Thirst for God; a Discourse delivered at the Opening of the Unitarian Church, St. Vincent Street, Glasgow, April 13, 1856. By Henry William Crosskey. 12mo. Pp. 23. London—Chapman.

Towards the conclusion of this appropriate and interesting sermon, Mr. Crosskey answers the question why he and his flock seek a "distinctive church." He gives a condensed statement, in the words of his predecessor, Mr. James Yates, of the principles on which the Unitarian church in Glasgow was founded in 1812, viz., 1, Free inquiry; 2, The

sole worship of the Father of Jesus Christ; 3, Holiness of heart and excellence of conduct the only road to salvation. Many will read with satisfaction Mr. Crosskey's emphatic enunciation of the same principles:

"Half a century has passed since these noble words were uttered; yet, like all true thoughts, they are not antiquated, and may stand to-day as valid and weighty grounds of dissent as in the time gone by. I do but repeat the same principles in other words when I say, that we dedicate this Temple to the worship of God in the name and as the disciples of a Christian faith, in which religion harmonises with human nature, and inspires (conspires?) to the complete individual and social development of humanity."—Pp. 16, 17.

Early Religious Education considered as the divinely-appointed Way to the Regenerate Life. By William G. Elliot, Pastor of the Church of the Messiah at St. Louis. Pp. 128. Boston. 1855.

This volume contains much admirable matter on religious and general education. Mr. Elliot may appear to some Unitarians to cling too tenaciously to language which orthodoxy has almost inseparably associated with its peculiar modes of thought; but if they will follow him out in his reasonings, they will see little reason for dissenting from his conclusions. Against the orthodox idea that regeneration is the sole work of a mysterious divine influence, and that it is to be delayed to the adult period of life, he strongly contends, as unreasonable in itself and unauthorized by Scripture. He shews that early and painstaking education is the best path to the regenerate life. We welcome the bold type and the general comeliness of this volume. Why should attractions of this kind be left chiefly to light and frivolous works?

Short Devotional Services for Solitary Sundays. 18mo. Pp. 59. London—Whitfield.

These Services are compiled by a lady, already favourably known to the public as the editor of "Holy Thoughts." Herself (we regret to learn) an invalid, and for months together deprived of the privilege of attending public worship, she has found soothing occupation in drawing up a series of four devotional services, and now publishes them in the hope that they may be useful to other invalids. Simplicity and earnest religious feeling are the characteristics of this little book, and they entitle it to our good word.

British Quarterly Review. No. XLVII.

This Review has not of late received much of our attention. The expectations which its early numbers fostered that it would assist in imbuing "orthodox" Dissenters with liberal ideas as well as literary tastes, have not been fulfilled. There have been good articles in it on many subjects; but whenever there is a distinct expression of religious opinion or of ecclesiastical policy, it has generally been narrow and intolerant. Professions of liberality are sufficiently plentiful, but they are professions only. The current No. is rather below the average in talent; but a few passages in it have an interest to Unitarian readers. In an article on "Recent Editions of the Greek Testament," we observe with satisfaction a spirit of respect for the critical labours of scholars desirous of ascertaining the true text of the New Testament. We ought to have the support of the writer of this article in respect to the necessity of

periodical revisions of the translation of the Bible. It would be a strange position to take, that scholars who labour to gain the nearest possible approach to the pure text of Scripture in the original tongues are entitled to praise, but that it is inexpedient and wrong to give to the mere English reader a knowledge of the results of critical investigation and of sacred philology generally. We have, however, little expectation of seeing the fanaticism of Dr. Cumming, Lord Shaftesbury and the Bishop of Carlisle, on the subject of a new English translation of the Bible, properly rebuked in the pages of the British Quarterly Review.—In the review of Dr. Alexander's Life of Dr. Wardlaw, which we shall probably give some account of in a future No., there are some passages at which we can well afford to smile. Here is an exemplification of the religious candour of the reviewer:

"His (Dr. Wardlaw's) Discourses on the Socinian Controversy—his great work—were admirably adapted to their purpose thirty years since; but the Unitarian polemic has learnt to take very different ground since that time. The more advanced men in that school know nothing of such deference to the authority of the sacred writers as was professed by their forefathers. The Gospels, in their view, consist of a confused mixture of history and fable. The Acts and the Epistles are less remarkable for the truths they teach, than for the evidence they furnish as to the narrowness, the prejudice, the ignorance and the errors, of their authors. Our business is not to sit at the feet of such men, but to sift all they say, so as to separate the small residuum of truth to be found in them, from the mass of conventionalities and falsehoods which have overlaid and disfigured it. In dealing with such disputants, the old weapons of warfare have become all but useless. The battle with the Unitarian is no longer for a mere orthodoxy, but for Christianity, as being a revelation in a higher sense than was acknowledged by the deistical writers of the last century. It is not to be doubted, however, that this retreat of the enemy to new ground has resulted from the fact that the old has proved to be untenable; and all honour to the men who have so acquitted themselves as to call forth this virtual acknowledgment of discomfiture."

A statement more remote from candour than this, it would not have been easy for the reviewer to pen. If Theodore Parker were the acknowledged leader of the Unitarian party in England and America, the statement might be supported as at least plausible, though one-sided. But the Unitarian body have never identified themselves with any of the theological extravagances of Mr. Theodore Parker and his admirers and imitators. The "discomfiture" to which the reviewer refers is ideal. Mr. Yates conducted the controversy with Dr. Wardlaw with admirable skill and learning, and was in temper and candour his superior. But another passage in the review shews that Unitarian arguments are working inconvenient results even in the compact body of English Independents:

"As the religion of a sect, Unitarianism is feeble—feebler relatively than it was in the days of Kippis and Priestley; but as a complexion of thought tending to affect the opinions of reading men on religious subjects, it is widely diffused and by no means contemptible. The open profession of Socinianism is a very harmless affair; the secret leaven of it beyond that circle is another matter."

With the proofs before us, neither few nor unimportant, of the influence of Unitarian sentiments on some of the most distinguished members of "orthodox" churches, we have a key to the bitterness of the hostility expressed by writers of the temper of the British Quarterly reviewer.

INTELLIGENCE.

WESTERN UNITARIAN SOCIETY.

The sixty-fifth anniversary meeting of this Society was held at Taunton on Wednesday, July 30th, when there was a large attendance of friends from most parts of the district. We have not for many years seen so many persons present at an annual gathering of this Association. The fine and venerable old chapel in Mary Street, with which the memory of the excellent Dr. Toulmin, one of the first preachers and earliest members of the Western Society, is so intimately connected, was filled at the appointed hour of worship with attentive hearers, and there was a quiet and a solemnity pervading the place and manifest throughout the services which it was delightful to witness. The Scriptures were read and prayer offered by the Rev. J. L. Short, of Bridport; and the Rev. J. Panton Ham delivered an appropriate sermon from the words of Christ, in Luke x. 21, "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that Thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes. Even so, Father! for so it hath seemed good in thy sight."

The visitors and friends were entertained at dinner by the members of the Taunton congregation, whose hospitality and kindness on this occasion will not soon be forgotten. In the evening there was a tea-meeting at the Assembly-rooms, which, notwithstanding the heat of the weather, was well attended, about two hundred and fifty persons being present. After tea, the Rev. W. A. Jones was called to preside. He referred to the history of the Society, to the useful purposes to which its books and tracts might be applied, and to its claims upon the congregations in the West of England.—Mr. Staples, the Secretary, then read the report of the Society, which stated the number of books issued during the year, the measures which had been taken to improve the catalogue, and the prospect of an extended circulation of tracts and books in future.—After the usual business resolutions had been proposed and passed, the Rev. S. A. Steinthal, of Bridgwater, advocated the cause of Sunday-school instruction, and introduced the Rev. W. Vidler, of London, as a deputation from the Sunday-School Association, to the meeting. Mr. Vidler was cordially welcomed, and proceeded to give an interesting account of the nature and objects of the Association which he represented, of the work it had accomplished, and of what it was prepared to undertake if increased means were furnished by the Unitarian body.—The Rev. Wm. James moved, and William Blake, Esq., of Bishop's Hull, seconded, the following resolution: "That the warm thanks of the members of the Western Society be given to the Rev. J. Panton Ham for his sermon in the morning,—a sermon characterized by its evangelical tone and fervent spirit." Mr. James spoke of the labours of Mr. Ham in Bristol; of the manliness with which he had avowed his sentiments, at the sacrifice of much that most men hold dear; and contrasted his obedience to the law of Christian sincerity with the conduct of those who, agreeing with Unitarians in theological opinion, still remained in orthodox positions and connections. Mr. Ham thanked the meeting for the kindness with which he had been received, and for the favour with which the friends around him had regarded his services; and earnestly urged upon Unitarians the importance of making greater efforts for the diffusion of the precious faith, the glorious principles, which they professed, and which, he was firmly persuaded, only required to be better known in order to be gratefully welcomed by thousands who were longing for a religion in harmony with reason and conscience, and adapted to the wants of the soul.—A resolution recommending the *Inquirer* to the Unitarians of the West of England, and asking for it increased support, was proposed by the Rev. J. L. Short, and seconded by C. J. Thomas, Esq., of Bristol, and carried unanimously.—H. A. Palmer, Esq., said that the sincere thanks of the friends of the Western Society from a distance were due to the Rev. W. A. Jones and his congregation for the hospitalities extended to them through the day. He had never attended a more agreeable meeting of the Association. It had been most happy in all its engagements, and he could not but hope that much good would result from it.—The friends then separated to depart to their different homes, and encouraged, we trust, to labour with increased vigour in their various spheres for the advancement of truth and righteousness.

NEW UNITARIAN CHAPEL AT BOLTON, LANCASHIRE.

The opening of this beautiful edifice took place on Thursday, August 21st, and other services in commemoration of the event were continued on the following Sunday, the memorable feast of St. Bartholomew. We intend in a future No. to give some account of them; previous to which, however, it may interest our readers to receive a description of the building and a sketch of the past history of this ancient congregation. The new structure is placed on the site of the old chapel and chapel-house. The ground on which it stands was the gift of the last of three ejected ministers who had in succession been pastors to the congregation from its earliest formation. The Rev. Richard Goodwin, M.A., was the ejected vicar of Bolton; the Rev. John Lever had been minister of an extra-parochial chapel at Cockey Moor; and the Rev. Robert Seddon, M.A., had been rector at Langley, in Derbyshire. These three divines carried on their ministry in the original Nonconformist house of worship, parts of which are yet standing in Deansgate, at the corner of Meal-House Lane. One of the last acts of Mr. Seddon's life was to complete the deed of gift by which he consecrated this spot to the service of Nonconformity. From the year 1695 to the present day, it has been the place of religious assembly to a numerous, opulent and respectable body of Dissenters, and during that long period has always numbered amongst its supporters some of the leading families in the town. At this time it contributes to the public offices of the borough one of its Parliamentary Members, two county magistrates, one alderman and four councilmen, besides others of minor importance. The ministers who have filled the pulpit have been worthy successors of the early founders, eminent alike for learning and piety, and zealous in the maintenance of the great and fundamental principle of English Presbyterianism, freedom from creeds and independence of ecclesiastical authority. The names of the Rev. Samuel Bourn, Dr. Thomas Dixon, Revds. John Buck and Thomas Dixon the younger, Revds. Philip Holland, William Hawkes and John Holland, need no garnishing of the pen to give them prominence. They stand high in the rolls of fame among English Presbyterian divines. The chapel in which these worthies had officiated for more than a century and a half was altogether destitute of architectural pretensions. The rude, unshapen beams and pillars, and irregular seats, bore unmistakeable testimony to the old Puritan prejudice against all extraneous attractions in a house of worship. Though it had been enlarged and slightly modified to increase its accommodations, its construction defied any extensive improvements. After much deliberation, therefore, it was decided to take it down; a subscription was set on foot, and arrangements were made with all convenient speed for the erection of the present edifice. It being part of the plan to have a spacious room in the basement story for a Sunday-school and for congregational uses, a large quantity of gravel had to be removed before the foundations could be laid. This was the work of the first year. In the second, the walls were completed and the roof was laid on; and in this the third year, the interior as well as the exterior of the building has been completed. It was a fortunate circumstance that the chapel at Moor Lane, Bolton, which had been used for nearly twenty years by a second Unitarian congregation, but which has been closed since the year 1840, was available for the Bank-Street congregation during the time occupied in rebuilding their place of worship.

The style of the new structure is the early English of the thirteenth century. The plan is cruciform. The front elevation, fifty-seven feet in height, consists of a spacious entrance doorway, with clustered columns on moulded bases, and united in their capitals, which are decorated with the dog-tooth cutting. The arch is pointed, and is composed of a series of deeply-cut and well-relieved mouldings, in which the dog-tooth is again introduced and gives great richness to the whole. This door is approached by six steps, three of which are within the jamb mouldings, the thickness of the wall. Over the door, and resting upon a moulded string course, is a triplet lancet window, each light separated by a slender column, having moulded bases, caps and arch mouldings. The centre light is 19 feet high, and the two side lights 14 feet each. Above this large window is a circular octofoil, with a lancet window at the opposite end of the building, which supplies air to the space above the ceiling for the purpose of ventilation.

The front buttresses, four in number, have bold base mouldings, and project

four feet from the wall, and terminate with moulded canopies. On each side the entrance door, in the two outside bays, are tall lancet windows, which light the staircase, lobbies and entrances to the nave, and over each a small niche. Two square perforated pinnacles spring from the corner buttresses, and rise from the bottom of the roof to its apex. The point of the front gable is surmounted with a richly-carved finial of considerable size and beauty. All the label mouldings of the windows and doorway in front terminate in deeply-cut foliated bosses, each varied in design and bold in execution. On each side of the building, five lancet windows, 17 ft. 4 in. high, by 3 ft. wide, light the gallery as well as the nave of the chapel. In the north transept, on the gable of which is placed the bell turret, there is a double lancet window, 22 ft. 6 in. high; and over this a circular septfoil, 4 ft. 6 in. in diameter. Besides these, two lancet windows are introduced in the sides of the transept. In the south transept, the window, a double lancet, is cut short on account of the proximity of the adjoining buildings, and the part below the gallery is lighted by an oblong square window, divided by two stone mullions.

At the west end, at an elevation of 28 ft. from the floor of the chapel, is a wheel window, 9 ft. in diameter, with bold mullions, having trefoil heads, and terminating in a centre quatrefoil, which, besides throwing a great body of light into the chapel, forms one of the most striking of its architectural features.

The entrance of the chapel, as has been already intimated, is at the east end, and opens into a vestibule, 7 ft. by 10 ft., with a groined ceiling. This is enclosed by glass folding-doors, opening into a smaller passage, which conducts on each side to the gallery stairs, and leads through other doors into the nave and gallery.

The ground plan is divided by two aisles, 3 ft. 10 in. wide, both leading to the pulpit and communion. The length of the nave is 33 ft., of the transepts 18 ft.,—making the whole length of the interior below, exclusive of vestibule and vestries, 51 ft. A carved screen at the west end, opposite the entrance, advances 9 ft. into the body of the chapel, and separates from it a suite of rooms for vestries and libraries, which extend the whole width of the building. Over this projection stands the organ, which by this arrangement, and in conjunction with the large circular window immediately above it, forms one of the objects which first attract the eye on entering the chapel. The pulpit occupies a central position in the communion against the screen. It is approached by seven steps from the door of the minister's vestry, and, though low, is sufficiently high to command a view of every seat. The form is hexagonal, standing upon a moulded pedestal; its sides display a series of arches, with pillars supporting trefoil arches, and surmounted with canopies and carved finials. The chair and table in the communion are of a design to harmonize with it. The communion occupies a space 11 ft. 6 in. from front to the screen, and 13 ft. 6 in. wide, and is elevated 8 in. from the floor of the chapel, having a kneeling step on three of its sides. The balusters are turned pillars, covered by a massive oak handrail.

The pews on each side the communion, and those which fill the transepts, range at right angles with the pews in the nave; and in a portion of these the Sunday scholars are to be arranged, the boys on the south and the girls on the north side, with a separate staircase to each from the school-room below.

The gallery is supported by cast-iron columns. It is reached by two easy flights of stairs, simply but massively constructed. The entire length of the interior now discloses itself. The organ and choir occupy the gallery over the vestries behind the pulpit, which forms the apse of the cross, while the front gallery, which extends over the vestibule to the large east window above the door of entrance, exhibits seven rows of pews, with a sufficient rise to bring all into view. On the sides of the gallery are two rows of seats, with a passage three feet wide against the wall. The transepts have six rows of seats, divided by a passage of two feet wide up the centre. The whole width of each transept is spanned by a pointed arch, springing from clustered pillars supported by a moulded corbel.

The roofs are covered with boarding, felt, and Westmoreland slates of a dark green colour. The transept roofs are open, and the nave roof is open to the collar beam, which is level with the apex of the transept roofs. The ceiling is a work of great simplicity and beauty. Five beautiful curved principals span the nave, in the form of a trefoil arch springing from moulded stone corbels fixed a considerable dis-

tance from the wall. The hammer beams are terminated with carved pendants, and the spaces betwixt the arched and square timbers in each principal are filled in with tracery. The ceiling is divided into panels by ribs, which, along with the whole of the roof timbers, are richly moulded. The paneling is continued through the transepts. The space above the ceiling is reserved for ventilation, and is connected with the chapel by means of a large trough running the whole length of the building, the sides of which are perforated. The cornice at the spring of the roof is used for an air channel, and is conducted betwixt the spars to the ventilating chamber.

The vestries and libraries are entered on the north side.

The room forming the basement story, intended for the Sunday-schools, is 45 ft. 4 in. long by 36 ft. 9 in. wide. Its height is 13 ft. It is lighted by five square-headed windows on each side, and two in front. It is entered by two doors, one for boys on the south, and one for girls on the north side.

The heating apparatus is fixed in a separate apartment, 11 ft. square and 20 ft. in height, contiguous to which is a cellar for coals.

The entire length of the building inside is nearly 68 ft., and outside 74 ft.; the width of the nave, 37 ft. 6 in., and across the transepts, 68 ft. 6 in. The chapel affords accommodation for upwards of seven hundred persons, besides two hundred Sunday scholars.

The stone used in the building was obtained from Horrock's Fold, from the quarries of Mr. Peter Heywood. The wood is red deal, and in the fittings and ceiling is all stained in imitation of oak and varnished. The whole of the windows have been glazed with Hartley's patent diamond glass, three-sixteenths of an inch thick, in large squares.

Mr. Geo. Woodhouse, a young man of great promise, resident in Bolton, is the architect. From his designs, and under his direction, the whole works have been carried out. Mr. Joseph Crompton, stonemason, Bolton, completed the basement story. Messrs. Marsden, builders, Bolton, took the contract for the joists of the chapel floor. For the chapel itself, the stonework was executed by Mr. John Hodgkinson; the joinering, slating, plumbing, glazing and painting, were contracted for by Mr. Bramall, builder, Manchester. The pulpit and communion were made by Mr. Richard Harwood, from designs drawn by Mr. Woodhouse, the architect. It is only justice to all parties who have been engaged in the work to add, that from first to last there has been no dissension or dissatisfaction; and but for one accident, which has fortunately terminated without loss of life or limb, there would have been no untoward circumstance to record connected with the erection of this edifice.

The building is heated throughout by a circulation of warm water, the apparatus for which was supplied by Messrs. Cole, iron-founders, Bolton, who have spared no pains to render it as complete and successful as possible.

Little more remains than to notice the organ, which has been built by Mr. Parvin, of Bolton, partly of stops from the old organ and partly of new ones. The frame has been made from designs furnished by the architect, who has in this, as well as in the pulpit, happily succeeded in preserving a thorough harmony with the other parts of the structure.

The work has been superintended throughout by Mr. George Cundliff, one of the trustees of the chapel, who has taken the deepest interest in its progress. The attendance of this gentleman has been so constant as to enable the Building Committee to dispense with a clerk of the works. A deep debt of gratitude is owing for services so willingly and so efficiently rendered.

The cost of the building is between three and four thousand pounds. Of this, the largest portion was raised amongst the members of the congregation in the course of a single week. Of the exterior of the building we are not without the hope of presenting to our readers in a future No. a lithographed view. The interior is eminently successful and striking. The combination of ecclesiastical style with a due provision for all the wants of a large assembly of worshipers, is complete. It is a bright and cheerful building, not wanting in those attributes which inspire solemnity, but suggesting to the mind of the worshiper as he enters that the religion there intended to be inculcated is of a cheerful and hopeful character, a religion of love rather than of fear.

We are compelled by the advanced period of the month, as well as by want of space, to defer our report of the interesting services by which the completion and public opening of the chapel were inaugurated.

PUBLIC OPINION IN ENGLAND IN 1792.

Mr. Goding, of Cheltenham, has placed in our hands a remarkable illustration of the spirit of English Toryism at the time of the French Revolution. In the *Times* newspaper of Dec. 11, 1792, nearly the whole of the first page is occupied by resolutions and declarations of attachment to the constitution, and of hatred to seditious writings and of "associations and confederacies" subversive of all government and destructive to all the bonds of civil society. A clue is given to the associations and confederacies aimed at by an article on the third page, directed, we suppose, against a social and political Club at Hackney. We extract the whole of this curious statement just as it appears in the *Times*' columns:

"The conduct of a Club which has met for some time past on Friday nights in a village near the Metropolis, has not escaped the prying eye of curiosity nor the tongue of slander; but the publication of the following list, containing the names of such as are said to be its principal members, will be sufficient to do away the calumny:

Rev. Dr. Priestly,*(sic)*	Mr. Malkin, Jun.,
Rev. Dr. Rees,	Mr. Manning,
Rev. Mr. Belsham,	Mr. Johnston,
Rev. Mr. Pope,	Mr. — Johnston,
Rev. Mr. Pickbourn,	Mr. J. Towgood,
Rev. Mr. Davis,	Mr. N. Towgood,
Rev. Mr. Lewis,	Mr. M. Towgood,
Rev. Mr. G. Morgan,	Mr. Travers,
Mr. Wm. Morgan,	Mr. Rickards,
Mr. J. H. Stone,	Mr. Spurrell,
Mr. W. Stone,	Mr. S. Boddington,
Mr. Jonath. Stone,	Mr. Rogers, Sen.
Mr. Toulmin,	Mr. Rogers, Jun.
Mr. Malkin, Sen.	

"At the head of this list stand the names of eight Dissenting ministers, well known to be teachers of the gospel of peace, and who never mingle political or worldly matters either in their public or private discourses. The meetings of such men can only be for the most laudable purposes; to support each other in the paths of virtue, peace and good order; and to confirm one another in their attachment to the King and Constitution as by law established. And if, through human frailty, the fire of party zeal should be kindled amongst the lay members, who can doubt what would be the office of the reverend ministers? Need any one ask, whether they would fan, or endeavour to extinguish, the flame?"

The irony of these remarks is sufficiently obvious. The object was, by printing the names of the members of a private Club, to draw upon them public odium, and so aid that system of terrorism which is one of the great blots of William Pitt's Administration. A paragraph in the same newspaper alludes to "the meddling republican spirit of certain violent Dissenters who would stick at nothing to attain their ends." Another paragraph alludes to the probability that "the Tower" will furnish winter quarters to certain Scottish reformers, an announcement the meaning of which is perhaps elucidated by the after fate of Muir, Palmer and Skirving. It is well known that Mr. Pitt looked with great jealousy at Hackney as a nest of Dissenters and Jacobins. Many of the persons named in the list were members of the Old Gravel-Pit congregation. Some of their descendants are still living, and they will think it an honour to have an ancestor named in connection with a Club, the list of whose members begins with Dr. Priestley and ends with Mr. Samuel Rogers. Can any of our correspondents give us any particulars of the history of the Club denounced by the *Times*?

MINISTERS' STIPEND AUGMENTATION FUND.

We are at length permitted to give to our readers some information respecting the plans, soon to be carried into operation, for increasing the salaries of those Unitarian ministers who are at present most inadequately provided for, the smallness of whose salaries is the result of the limited means of their congregations. It is now rather more than three years since Mr. Christopher Rawdon, of Liverpool, and some of his friends, deeply struck with the poverty of a large number of Unitarian ministers, and regretting that no steps had been taken for supplying to those of them resident in the north of England, who had formerly been permitted to receive assistance from the Hewley Trustees, the amount of which they had been deprived by the ultimate decision of that suit, resolved to originate a Fund on a large scale, in order at least to restore them to their former pecuniary condition. But the noble purpose of Mr. Rawdon and his associates will best appear, if we give a copy of the statement privately circulated amongst some of the leading Unitarians of the North of England:

A few of the older and more affluent families and members of the English Presbyterian and Unitarian congregations in the North of England have been painfully impressed by the disclosures recently made respecting the miserable pittances, given under the name of salary, to the great majority of the ministers in their body. It appears that out of 154 ascertained cases of every class, there are 80 of stipends below £100 per annum and averaging only £54, while of the remaining 74, including the most favourable instances, the average does not reach £150 per annum.

The results which must follow this state of things are as evident as they are deplorable—not only a life of depressing struggle to a class of men whose office requires some exemption from mere worldly cares, but a resort, in order to fill the vacancies in the ministry, to an inferior order of men, whose early habits and education mercifully exclude them from tastes and aspirations forbidden to their lot, and a consequent discouragement and decline of the cause of liberal Christianity, of which they are the visible and responsible representatives.

The protection of that cause is a trust devolved on the present generation at great sacrifice on the part of its predecessors. No one, looking to the state of religious parties, can say that that trust has expired; and if it is not to be unworthily surrendered, some remedy must be found for the evil which threatens to be fatal to its continued exercise. It might certainly be thrown on the particular congregations to find the remedy by raising the stipends of their several ministers; but without the stimulus of other measures, this practically will not be done. And as the wealth and power of liberal Dissent accumulate in the large towns and leave the country stations, though absolutely of real importance, relatively very poor, a natural necessity arises for distributing the resources of the strong to help the deficiencies of the weak.

This was partially but very judiciously done by the Hewley Fund; the loss of which has been most severely felt by its former beneficiaries, and has been compensated by additional effort on the part of the congregations only, it is believed, in very few cases. The Fund has been taken away from the religious body to whose service it seemed more especially designed, and the whole burden of the loss has passively been allowed to fall on the "poor and godly ministers" whom the Founder's example recommended to a more considerate care.

The Hewley Fund was the bequest of an individual. It is proposed to replace it on a scale suitable to the united efforts of an entire religious body; and, in the first place, to raise in the country north of the Trent (the district to which the Hewley Fund was almost entirely limited), the sum of £50,000, to be vested in Trustees, under conditions securing the revenue mainly for the augmentation of inadequate ministerial stipends.

The plan has been practically set on foot by individuals and families who have each contributed £1000 towards an effectual foundation for the proposed Trust Fund, which it is intended, if possible, to complete through private applications to the number of twenty such contributions, as a preliminary to a more general appeal to the Unitarian body embraced in the said district.

The reception thus far given to the scheme, and the facility with which on reflection scruples respecting it disappear, afford reasonable hope of its early success.

The precise conditions of the Trust to be constituted must of course remain to be determined by the donors; but the following points have been adverted to as important to secure:

1st. That the first Trustees be chosen from the original donors, and that they fill up the vacancies in the number as they arise.

2nd. That the terms of the Trust be as comprehensive as possible, neither attempting by restrictive definitions to prejudge too minutely the congregations and ministers proper to be benefited, nor prohibiting the application of funds to the education as well as the maintenance of a liberal ministry; but that for the right application of the Fund the main reliance be placed on the regulations for the personal succession of Trustees, whose principal and most onerous duty will be to provide,

3rd. That all congregational grants be held to be limited in their duration, requiring an annual revision, and as far as possible conditional on a proportionate amount of exertion in support of the ministers; thus, through a well-devised Trust-deed, to guard against the dangers which the experience of centuries has proved to be incident to all fixed endowments: these grants will become strictly appropriate aids, and not endowments.

4th. That it should be recommended to the Trustees to give an invariable preference, other things being equal, to ministers regularly educated for their office.

In this way the Administrative Board,

consisting of influential and trusted laymen, would indirectly act as a permanent Ecclesiastical Commission to check the evils of congregational apathy and maintain the standard of ministerial culture.

There can be little doubt that a munificent example set by the North of England would be immediately emulated by other parts of the country, in proportion to their ability; and it might then be advantageously considered what relations of concert and mutual aid should be established between the funds of different districts, and whether the principle should be adhered to of a local or district administration, in the hands of Trustees known to one another and to the group of churches within their range. As far as the proposers can at present judge, no general fund raised from the whole kingdom would be likely to reach so large an amount as might be realized by distributed efforts, and no Board of Management gathered from north, south and west, could meet so readily, bring such zeal and knowledge to their task, or obtain such hearty confidence, as a body like the Hewley Trustees, including no name that was strange or without honour in the counties over which the benefactions chiefly spread.

Liverpool, 20th January, 1854.

The appeal was not made in vain. Several wealthy and generous individuals enrolled themselves amongst the supporters of Mr. Rawdon's scheme. Eventually, by that gentleman's doubling the noble subscription in the first instance proposed, and by that example being followed by his relative Mrs. Matilda Rawdon, the sum of £18,820 was raised as a foundation of the proposed Fund. We cannot deny ourselves the gratification of printing the names of these generous friends of the Unitarian cause, and the amount of their several subscriptions:

Christopher Rawdon, Esq., Liverpool	£2020
Mrs. Matilda Rawdon, ditto	2000
R. V. Yates, Esq.	1000
George Holt, Esq., Liverpool	1000
C. H. Dawson, Esq., Royds' Hall	1000
Miss Mary Dawson, ditto	1000
Miss Rachel Dawson, ditto	1000
Daniel Gaskell, Esq., Lupset Hall, near Wakefield	1000
John Pemberton Heywood, Esq., Liverpool	1000
The Misses Yates, ditto	1000
Richard Kershaw Lumb, Esq., Cheltenham	1000
John Mather, Esq., Liverpool	350
Daniel Mather, Esq., ditto	250
Miss Isabella Mather, Liverpool	£350
Miss Jane Mather, ditto	350
William Rathbone, Esq., ditto	500
John Strutt, Esq., Belper	1000
Ivie Mackie, Esq., Manchester	500
T. H. M'Connel, Esq., ditto	100
James M'Connel, Esq., ditto	450
Henry M'Connel, Esq., Cressbrook	450
Arthur Lupton, Esq., Leeds	500
Martin Schunck, Esq., Manchester	1000
Total	£18,820

These several sums have been paid into the bank, and the earliest payments dating as far back as June, 1853, there were accumulations of interest amounting to £1181, making the entire sum available for the Fund just above £20,000.

We have before us a copy of the Deed of Constitution agreed to and signed by the founders. This important document, which appears to have been drawn up with the utmost care, after reciting the names of the founders, rehearses the foundation in the years 1704 and 1707 by Lady Hewley of certain charities for promoting the preaching of Christ's holy gospel; describes the faithful and catholic-spirited distribution of those charities by the successive Trustees, the legal proceedings which began in 1830, and the final judgment thereon in the House of Lords in 1842, and the consequent deprival to many Dissenting ministers of important assistance. The Deed then declares that the present founders being of opinion that the decree was contrary to the intention of Lady Hewley, and holding the great Protestant principle *that the right of private judgment is paramount to the profession of any particular theological tenets*, have resolved to establish a Fund, the annual income of which shall be expended in the augmentation of the stipends of ministers. The following gentlemen are constituted the first Committee of Management: — Christopher Rawdon, John Pemberton Heywood, George Holt, Ivie Mackie, James M'Connel, William James Lamport, William Rathbone, Jun., Henry Arthur Bright, William Alfred Jevons, Rev. James Martineau, Robert Taylor Heape, Thomas Ainsworth, Darnton Lupton, Wm. Caldwell Roscoe, Geo. Buckton, Henry Briggs, Robert Dukinfield Darbishire and Holbrook Gaskell.

The paramount object of the Fund is

declared to be, "to encourage the faithful ministers of congregations in England statedly assembling for the public worship of God, the members, ministers or communicants whereof shall not be required to subscribe or assent to any articles of religious belief, or to submit to any test of religious doctrine, unless it be the simple acknowledgment of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as containing a record of divine revelation." In order to prevent the Fund being regarded in the light of an endowment, it is provided that the Committee of Management shall only make a grant in augmentation of the stipend of a minister for the current year, and the Fund is not to be allowed to become chargeable with the payment of any annual sum in the way of endowment. The Committee are specially directed, in distributing the income of the Fund, to pay particular regard to the state and condition of the congregation, and to their ability to make adequate provision for their minister; and, other things being equal, shall give a preference to such persons as have been regularly educated for the office of the ministry.

In order to ensure the continuance of the Trust in the hands of proper persons, it is provided that absence from three consecutive annual meetings of the Committee, or the public joining of himself to any church, denomination or sect, requiring of its minister, communicants or members, subscription or assent to any articles of religious belief, or submission to any test of religious doctrine other than the acceptance of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament as containing a record of divine revelation, be an actual vacating of his office of Committee-man or Trustee.

A special meeting of the Committee is to be convened at least once in every twenty-five years, to consider the propriety of revoking or altering the Rules and By-laws. The Committee have absolute power in the investment of the capital fund, and are in this respect to be independent of the interference of the Court of Chancery or other legal tribunal. The members of the Committee and Trustees are to be indemnified against loss incurred in the execution of the Trust, and are to be paid reasonable travelling expenses for attending the Trust meetings. Other regulations of a minor character are also made in the Trust-deed.

According to the By-laws, the Committee of Management (which is not to exceed in number 20, nor to be less than 12) will meet together in Liverpool, or any other place appointed by themselves, on the first Wednesday in the month of June, and at other stated times from time to time fixed upon.

All applications for pecuniary assistance shall be made in writing through the Chairman or Secretary. The Managers of the Fund are not to allow themselves to be privately canvassed. Congregations situated north of the river Trent shall claim the first consideration of the Committee. The first Chairman (who is to hold his office for three years) is George Holt, Esq., of Liverpool. The office of Secretary is undertaken by James Thornely, Esq., solicitor, Liverpool. What steps will be taken by the Trustees to enlarge the Fund, and to bring it nearer to the munificent sum contemplated by its founders, we are not yet able to state. A work so excellent in its design, so nobly begun, and so far executed with equal judgment and spirit, deserves the generous aid of all our congregations, and especially of the wealthy members of our religious societies. The objection which has arisen, and is likely to be again urged against the Fund, is that it is in danger of becoming a means of endowing certain religious societies, and of letting in the evils consequent on religious endowments. For our own parts, we do not share in all the fears expressed on this subject. We could, if need were, point to many instances in which congregational endowments have produced great, if not unmixed, good. But from the brief abstract we have given of the Trust-deed and Rules of Management, it will be seen that they have been constructed with the utmost care, in order to prevent anything like the endowment of any particular places of worship. One of the By-laws prohibits any arrangement by which one or more members of the Committee shall be enabled to nominate in rotation, or otherwise, any beneficiary of the Fund. The distribution of the income of the Fund is not to be allowed to save either congregations or individuals from making the required contributions of which they are severally capable. In this respect we anticipate great good as likely to result from the consultations of the Committee. They will be able to rebuke with authority and effect congregations *(and there are such)* which inadequately, in proportion to their

means, remunerate ministers. They may very properly in such cases make the aid they give in any year dependent on the exertions first made by the congregation itself. At all events, the Fund now established is so greatly needed, and the noble-spirited men and women who have originated it have entitled themselves to so much gratitude from the Unitarian public, that we indulge the hope that they will nowhere be met in a spirit of cavilling and objection, but will be helped by willing contributors of every class. We shall watch and chronicle (so far as we are enabled to do it) the proceedings of the Committee with the deepest interest; and conclude this first article on the subject with a heartfelt expression of respect and thankfulness to Mr. Christopher Rawdon and his excellent coadjutors.

NEW GRAVEL-PIT CHAPEL, HACKNEY.

We have much pleasure in complying with the request of the Committee of this respectable society, to print in our pages the statement respecting their building. Remembering as we do the important services rendered during a long series of years by the ministers and members of the Hackney society, we cannot but feel sympathy with the congregation in their present unlooked-for and serious difficulties, and hope that, by the assistance of families formerly connected with the society and other friends, they may soon be in possession of a safe and suitable place of worship.

The Committee beg to present to the Congregation the following Statement, to which they earnestly invite their special attention.

At the Annual Meeting of the Congregation in March, 1855, Resolutions were passed sanctioning the erection of School-rooms, Vestry, and Apartments for the Chapel-keeper. It was not, however, till the beginning of this year that the Committee were able to commence the work. When the old building, which was in a dilapidated state, was taken down, the unsound condition of the Chapel was discovered by Mr. R. W. Wright, the Architect of the new School-rooms. During the last twenty years, various circumstances had raised suspicions that there was something faulty in the original construction of the Chapel, and the Architects called in to survey it reported that the apprehensions then entertained were not without foundation. In May last, the Committee determined that a thorough examination of the Chapel should take place, and engaged Mr. Sancton Wood, Architect, for that purpose. From his Report the Committee extract the following passages:

"I have seen quite sufficient to satisfy me that the roof is in an unsound and dangerous condition, and consequently I advise the discontinuance of your meetings being held in the Chapel.

"Nearly all the timbers are in a state of decay; some which are material in the construction of the roof have almost entirely perished.

"If the rest of the building were sound and substantial, there would be no difficulty in substituting a new and well-constructed roof in the place of the old one; but unfortunately the walls themselves are very defective as regards both materials and workmanship, and I find, from trials I have made, that they have bulged out of the perpendicular about $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.; and, from the extent of my own means of judging, together with the statement of the facts which came to light during the building of the new School-rooms, I have reason to know that portions, if not the whole, of the walls are most defectively and improperly built, and that the bulging does not arise so much from the thrust or weight of the roof, as from their own inherent defects, and that I should not consider it proper to put a new roof upon them in their present state.

"I have caused the walls of the foundation to be opened in three places, and I have found that the large chain bond which was inserted in the centre of it, to give uniformity of bearing on the foundations and to bond the whole wall together, has most completely and entirely decayed, so that it affords no more support or bond than would the same quantity of mould put in the walls. I have also found that the original construction of the wall was extremely defective; and, in addition to the decay of timber, the centre of the wall, instead of being regularly built and all bonded together, has been filled in with fragments of brick and rubbish and sand, without mortar, and I had not the least difficulty in removing it with my hand in any quantity as far as I could reach.

"The walls behind the organ and the staircase walls are in a very defective

state, owing to bad materials and bad workmanship.

"I am decidedly of opinion it would be most unwise and imprudent to attempt to adapt them to your future requirements, and I would not myself incur the responsibility of putting any new roof upon them, or in raising new walls on any portion of the existing ones.

"Such being the case, it will appear to others as well as myself that the most complete and proper remedy for this state of things would be to take down and rebuild the Chapel."

This Report, confirming the opinion previously expressed by Mr. R. W. Wright, left the Committee no alternative but to recommend the erection of a new Place of Worship. A Special Meeting of the Congregation was held on Friday, the 4th of July, when, the Committee having placed before it all the information they had obtained, the following Resolution was unanimously adopted:

"That this Meeting, after hearing the Report of the Architect engaged by the Committee to survey the Chapel, are of opinion that the present Building could not be placed in a safe condition, and that therefore the Committee be instructed to take such steps as they may consider necessary to procure Plans and Estimates for a new Building."

In conformity with this Resolution, the Committee have applied to several Architects to send in Plans and Estimates. They have reason to believe that a suitable Building, with sittings for 600 persons, may be erected for about £2500. Before proceeding further, it is necessary, however, that they should be able to form some idea of the amount of funds to be placed at their disposal. Called upon, as the Congregation most unexpectedly are, to sustain such a heavy burden, the Committee nevertheless appeal to them with confidence to afford their utmost aid. To those who have been formerly their fellow-worshipers, and probably continue from many sacred associations to take an interest in their affairs, they look for sympathy and support. To the Unitarian body generally, they also appeal for assistance, in the hope that their brethren in the faith will enable them to open their new Place of Worship free from all pecuniary liabilities.

Referring with just pride to the eminent men who have ministered to the Gravel-Pit Congregation in bygone years, and to the high position it has consequently maintained in the Unitarian denomination, the Committee trust that an earnest and united effort will be made to secure to future generations a Building worthy of the cause which has been so faithfully upheld there, and reflecting honour on those by whose liberality it will have been erected.

The Committee invite early communications from the Congregation and other Friends, intimating the amount of their Donations, in order that they may be able to report further to a Meeting of the Congregation, to be held on Sunday, Aug. 31st.

JOHN E. CLENNELL, Treasurer.

Hackney, July 24, 1856.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED TO AMERICAN UNITARIANS.

In the progress of somewhat protracted courses of lectures to the young people of their respective churches in New York, the Rev. Henry W. Bellows and Dr. S. Osgood recommended various books illustrative of the successive themes of instruction which engaged them. They have since classified these works under three separate heads, viz. Aids to Devotion, 20 vols.; Biblical Apparatus, 20 vols.; Christian Family Library, of which Biography forms an important feature, 76 vols., and made arrangements for supplying any complete set at a rate much below the ordinary price. In a very sensible address, recommending the plan of systematic reading to their people, they say,—"Thousands of intelligent persons are beating their unstored brains for answers to questions which nothing but learning and the profoundest culture can answer, and which genius and study have answered ages ago, would these vain self-questioners only consult the records they have left. How often do we hear young and old complaining of the unsatisfactoriness of Christian evidences they have never examined—minds that have accepted the doubts and adopted the groans of image-breaking reformers, without knowing that men in every way their superiors in genius, learning and candour, have arrived at peaceful convictions, and stated the grounds of them in accessible pages full of light and power!"

OBITUARY.

July 6, at the house of his son, Astbury Street, Congleton, aged 81 years, Mr. Ishmael Worrall, the oldest member of the Unitarian congregation in that town. He was the father of twenty children, and has left fifty-five grandchildren and thirty-nine great-grandchildren.

Aug. 1, at Stockport, after a lingering and painful illness of two years, borne with great fortitude and resignation, Chas. Hudson, Esq., in his 46th year. For several years he had acted as one of the wardens of the Unitarian church, and his death is deeply deplored by his fellow-worshipers. The following is from a local paper, widely differing from him both in theology and politics: "It will be seen from our obituary notice that this highly respected gentleman was relieved from his severe and most protracted affliction of two years' duration on Friday last. Mr. Hudson was little past the prime of life, and was pursuing a very successful career as an attorney and advocate in this borough, when he was thus prematurely arrested by sickness. He held, besides, the ancient and responsible office of coroner for the Hyde and Stockport division of this county since the year 1841, discharging its duties with an ability, urbanity, integrity and impartiality, which had justly won for him the 'golden opinions' of the freeholders and the public generally. We cannot allow the grave finally to close over him without recording our opinion that he has left behind him few more honourable, able or high-minded members in his own profession, and that in all the relations of private life his character was equally irreproachable. He has left a widow and a family, several of the children, unfortunately, of too tender years to be yet conscious of the irreparable loss they have sustained."

Aug. 10, at Highfield House, Lenton, Notts, in the 68th year of his age, Alfred Lowe, Esq., one of Her Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the county of Nottingham.

Aug. 10, at the house of her sister, Mrs. Prichard, 9, Berkeley Square, Bristol, aged 59, Eleanor Lætitia, widow of the late Mr. W. M. Fox, of Annetta Bay, Jamaica, and youngest daughter of the late Rev. Dr. J. P. Estlin, of Bristol.

Aug. 11, at Leamington, Harriett, second daughter of the late John Pinkerton, Esq., of Tottenham, aged 67.

Aug. 14, at her residence, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool, aged 62 years, Jane, second daughter of the late Thos. Mather, Esq.

MARRIAGES.

July 22, at Hampstead, by Rev. Thos. Ainger, Frank P. Fellows, Esq., of Wolverhampton, to Louisa Mary, eldest daughter of Rowland Hill, Esq., Secretary to the Post-office.

July 23, at Little Portland-Street chapel, by Rev. E. Tagart, Mr. A. J. White, of Her Majesty's Customs, London, to Sarah, youngest daughter of Mr. R. Greenhill, builder, of Tottenham.

July 26, at Eustace-Street chapel, by the father of the bride, assisted by Rev. Joseph Hutton, D.D., Thomas Temple Silver, Esq., of Woodbridge, Suffolk, to Emily Ann, elder daughter of the Rev. T. F. Thomas, of Dublin, and late of Ipswich.

July 26, at the Stockport Unitarian church, by Rev. James Bayley, Mr. John Smith to Miss Sarah Wharmby.

July 29, at the High-Pavement chapel, Nottingham, by Rev. B. Carpenter, Mr. Parnham John Lynn to Miss Hannah Riley.

Aug. 2, at the Stockport Unitarian church, by Rev. Jas. Bayley, Mr. James Preston to Miss Sarah Smith.

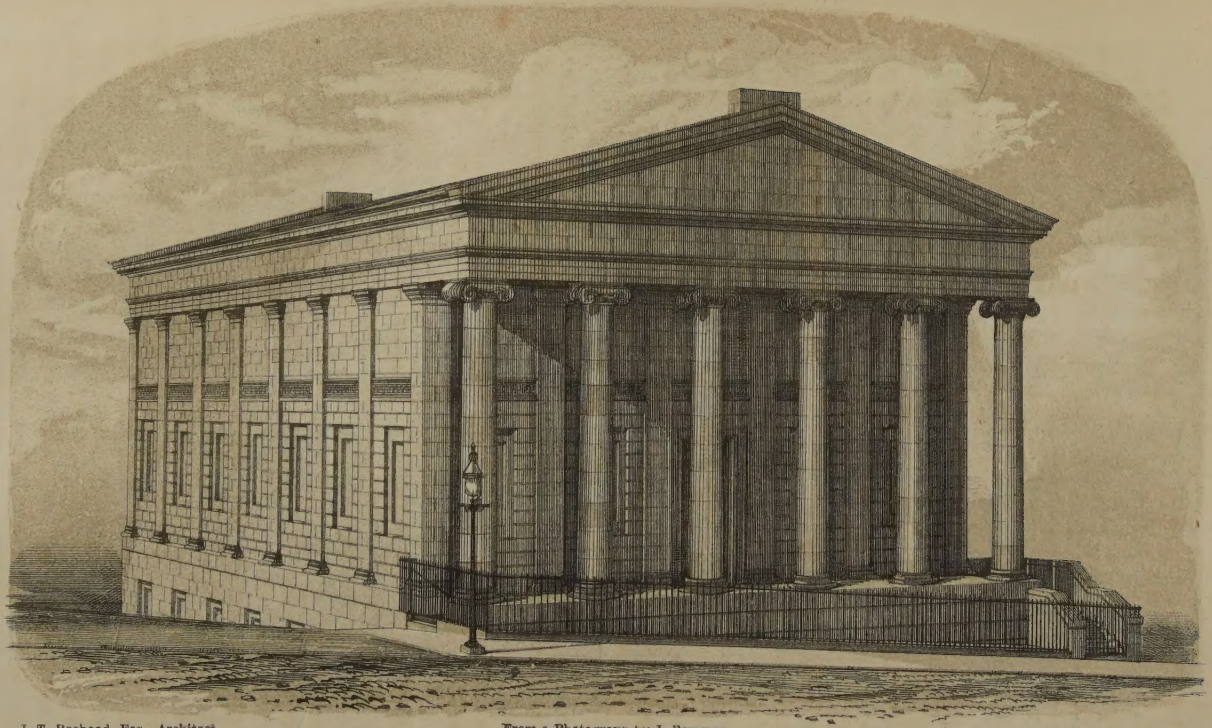
Aug. 5, at the High-Pavement chapel, Nottingham, by Rev. B. Carpenter, Mr. Thos. Bloom to Miss Sarah Ann Bates.

Aug. 6, at Little Portland-Street chapel, Sydney Evershed, Esq., of Burton-on-Trent, to Fanny, second daughter of H. Whitehead, Esq., of Chelsea.

Aug. 9, at the chapel in Upper Brook-Street, Manchester, by Rev. J. Panton Ham, Mr. Richard Wade to Miss Sarah Higgins, both of Manchester.

Aug. 14, at the High-Pavement chapel, Nottingham, by Rev. Benjamin Carpenter, Albert B. Alexander, Esq., Hamburgh, to Julia, eldest daughter of L. Heymann, Esq., of West Bridgeford, near Nottingham.

Aug. 18, at the Old chapel, Dukinfield, by Rev. R. Brook Aspland, M.A., Mr. David Shaw to Miss Martha Booth, both of Mottram, in Longdendale.



J. T. Rochead, Esq., Architect. From a Photograph by J. Bowman. Allan & Ferguson, Lith.

UNITARIAN CHAPEL,